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Journal of the Royal Society
of Antiquaries of Ireland

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND

FORMERLY

THE ROYAL HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL
ASSOCIATION OF IRELAND

FOUNDED IN 1849 AS

THE KILKENNY ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

VOL. L

—
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SERIES



VOL. X

—
SIXTH SERIES
—
1920

DUBLIN

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FOR THE SOCIETY

1921

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THE COUNCIL wish it to be distinctly understood that they do not hold themselves responsible for the statements and opinions contained in the Papers read at the Meetings of the Society, and here printed, except so far as No. 26 of the General Rules of the Society extends.

PREFACE

THE *Journal* of the Society for 1920, which is still restricted to two numbers for the reasons stated in the Preface to the *Journal* for 1919, will be found to contain several papers of great interest, covering a wide field of inquiry.

Under the head of Archaeology, Mr. T. J. Westropp has communicated portion of his investigations into the Promontory Forts of the District of Beare and Bantry, Co. Cork. The portion in this volume is prefatory and gives the traditions and chief topographical sources relating to Beare, and suggestions are made as to the various sources of early tribal pedigrees. Mr. P. J. Lynch, in his Topographical Notes on the Barony of Coshlea, Co. Limerick, has brought much learning to bear on the location of various places of legendary interest in the barony, including Lackelly, the Lake District, Cenn Abrat, Claire and Tara Luachra.

Those of our members who are interested in the Ecclesiastical side of the Society, will find that their interests have been well looked after. In a paper on Monaincha, Co. Tipperary, Mr. Chas. McNeill gives us an historical account of the monastery, while Mr. Harold Leask contributes Architectural Notes on the ruined church, and has illustrated his paper with excellent drawings. The Rev. Dom Louis Gougaud, o.s.b., in a paper on the Earliest Irish Representations of the Crucifixion, shows the peculiarities of conception and technique that characterise the treatment of this subject by the Irish; while Mr. Armstrong and Professor Macalister present us with a most interest-

ing account of a Wooden Psalm Book, with Leaves Indented and Waxed, found near Springmount Bog, Co. Antrim.

On the historical side, the President has contributed, in his inaugural address, an important paper on the State of Agriculture and the Standard of Living in Ireland in the years 1240-1350. The economic side of Irish history is a field which is greatly in need of being worked, and Mr. McEnery's paper throws considerable light on the conditions of living in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Mr. Orpen continues his study of the Earldom of Ulster, dealing in this number with Le Wastyn (Castletown Kindalen), Co. Westmeath, and the Rev. St. John Seymour shews that there were two men bearing the name of Faithful Teate in the seventeenth century.

Mr. W. G. Strickland contributes some Notes on the Book of Common Prayer recently presented to the Society, and Dr. Drury presents us with a Catalogue of the later 19th Century Farthing Tokens.

The Miscellanea contain subjects which are worthy of being brought before the notice of members of the Society, but which are not of so great importance as to justify their being made the subject of a paper to be read before the Society. Members are earnestly urged to communicate any matters of archaeological interest, which they may meet with in their district, to the Hon. Gen. Secretary, and if deemed of sufficient importance, they will be published in the *Journal*.

The Society is again indebted to Mr. T. J. Westropp for his kindness in making the Index.

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SERIES VI, VOL. X



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THE JOURNAL

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ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND

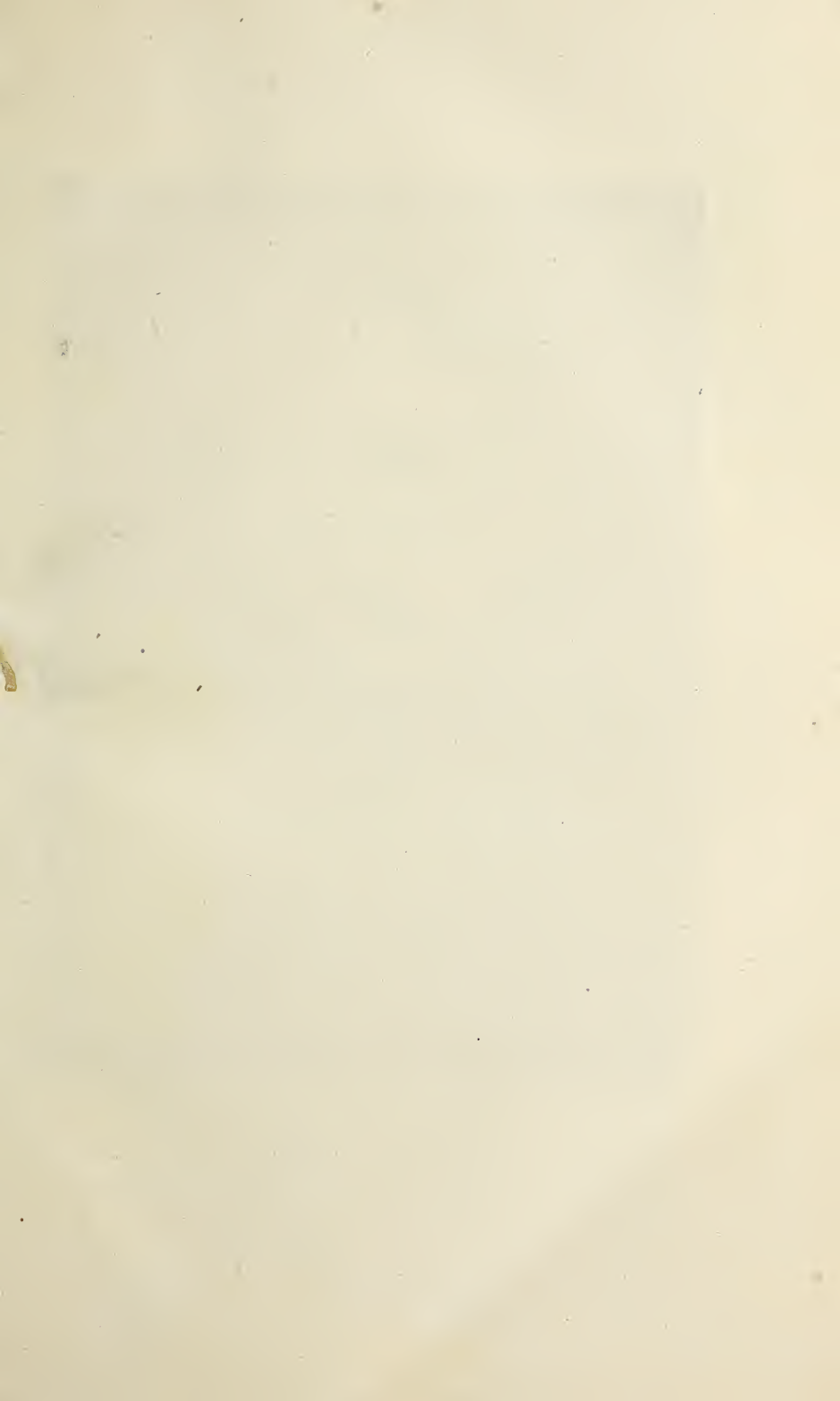
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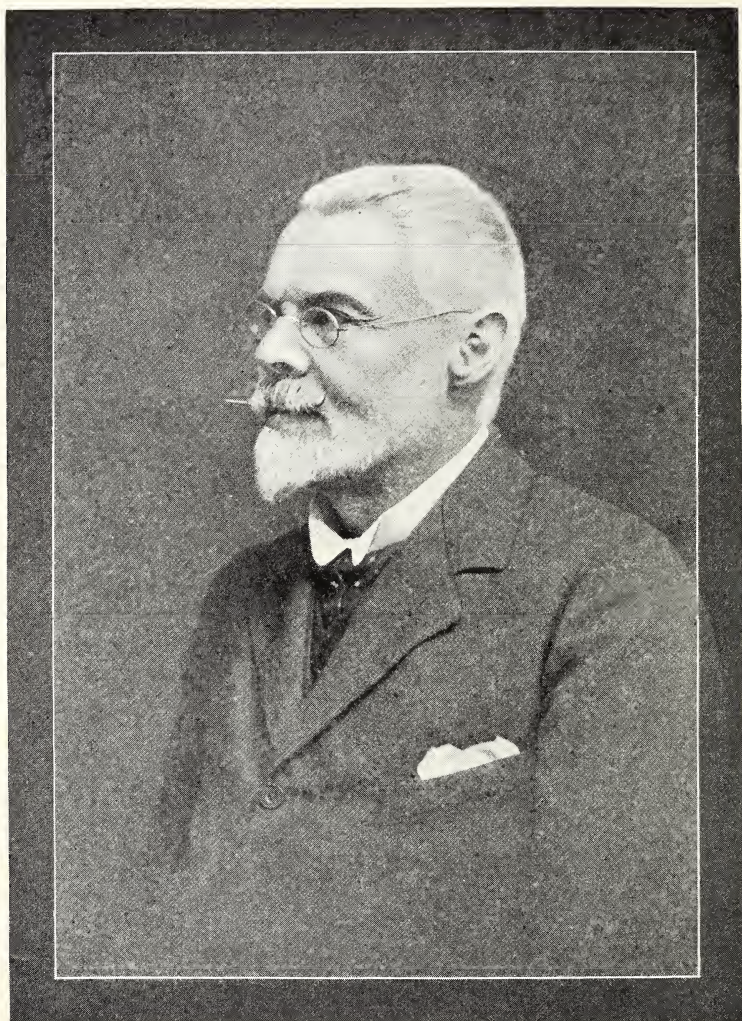
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*III.	III.	1854, 1855.
*IV.	I. 2nd Series,	1856, 1857.
V.	II.	1858, 1859.
*VI.	III.	1860, 1861.
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XXXVIII.	XVIII.	1908.
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XL.	XX.	1910.
XLI.	I. 6th Series,	1911.
XLII.	II.	1912.
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XLVI.	VI.	1916.
XLVII.	VII.	1917.
XLVIII.	VIII.	1918.
XLIX.	IX.	1919.
L.	X.	1920.

The Volumes marked (*) are now out of print. Some of the remaining Volumes can be supplied to Members at the average rate of 10s. each. Odd Parts of some of the foregoing volumes can be supplied. The Quarterly Parts of the Fifth Series can be supplied to Members at 3s. each.

In order to assist Fellows and Members to obtain back numbers of the *Journal*, the Council have decided to offer the fifteen volumes from 1870-1884 at the greatly reduced price of £1 for the set.





THOMAS JOHNSON WESTROPP, M.A., M.R.I.A.,
President, 1917-1920.

THE JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF IRELAND
FOR THE YEAR 1920

VOL. L, PART I

(VOL. X SIXTH SERIES—VOL. L CONSEC. SERIES)

ADDRESS

ON

THE STATE OF AGRICULTURE AND THE STANDARD OF LIVING
IN IRELAND IN THE YEARS 1240-1350.

BY MICHAEL J. McENERY, M.R.I.A., *President*,

HISTORY, especially Irish history, has always been a fascinating subject in this country. There are many good histories dealing with families or tribes, parishes, counties or dioceses, and various subjects sacred or profane, but a good, general history of Ireland has not yet been written. To accomplish this requires more than one author, no matter how able, as there is a great wealth of material, mostly unexplored: various historical sections must be investigated by several persons, and by bringing the results into one harmonious whole a good, general history of Ireland will be obtained.

The Public Records of England and Ireland, Monastic and Municipal Registers, Diocesan Records, annals and other ancient histories, and important private collections are treasure stores of materials for this history.

The section of agriculture is specially important. The present address will deal with agriculture in Ireland for the period 1240-1350, according to entries in the Patent Rolls, Close Rolls, and other Records in England; the Memorandum Rolls and Pipe Rolls of the Exchequer in Ireland; and an Account Roll,

1337-46, of the Priory of Holy Trinity, Dublin, now deposited in the Public Record Office, Dublin.

This period commences about seventy years after the Anglo-Norman Conquest, when the feudal system had taken root, and a considerable portion of the country was run on English lines. The Anglo-Norman settlers, in obedience to English laws, customs and manners, did not differ appreciably from their compatriots in England, and apparently the great Celtic rulers and chiefs acquiesced in the rule of the English King. Both were summoned to his standard for his expedition against Scotland in 1244, and both obeyed the summons quite willingly.

The year 1240, therefore, would appear to commence a natural era in Irish history.

During the period 1240-1350 the English Kings were constantly at war with Wales, Scotland or France. The policy of these Kings was to reduce the whole of the British Isles under their rule, to retain Gascony, the remnant of the French dominions, on the death of John, and possibly to recover the French dominions lost after the reign of Richard I.

During this period they drew on Ireland largely for men, money and food for their armies, and particulars of these can be conveniently found in the Records that are extant. This is particularly fortunate from the light they throw on the condition of agriculture and the standard of living then existing.

Many persons are under the impression that Ireland has always been a poor and backward country, that its agricultural methods have been rude and primitive, and that the standard of living there has been inferior to that of richer and more powerful nations. The Records tell a different tale: the fertility of the country has always been remarkable, food of a good quality, and luxuries, too, have been there in abundance, and there has been much to spare for the predominant partner in times of necessity and urgency.

The condition of agriculture in these islands in 1240 was very primitive. Root crops were practically unknown, but wheat, oats, barley and rye, as well as beans, peas, onions, &c., were grown extensively. The rotation of crops was on a two year or a three year system, as the land lay fallow on the second or third year: the land was enriched with artificial manure.

Cows, sheep and fowl were plentiful, and at the fairs and markets of Ireland might be purchased salmon, herrings, eels, oysters, lampreys, stock-fish, almonds, figs, raisins, ginger, spices and honey.

The supply of wine from Poitou was very considerable; and

wine also came from other places in the Continent, including the Rhineland.

Under such circumstances it may easily be understood that the standard of living in Ireland could favourably compare with that of other countries.

It may be said that the trade of Ireland with the Continent was very considerable, but this must be left for another day. The story of the exports of food for the army must now be unfolded: we shall speak of wheat, oats, barley, malt of wheat, malt of oats, flour, oatmeal, cows, pigs, herrings, stock-fish, peas, beans, onions, wine imported from abroad, and honey; and here and there it will be necessary to make short digressions into English history, so as to furnish an intelligible and connected story.

The Anglo-Norman Kings claimed to be lords-paramount over Scotland, and the trouble arising from this claim was frequent and serious. It was constantly asserted and as constantly resisted, actively or passively.

In 1242 Bysset, a Norman chief, quarrelled with the retainers of the Lord of Athole, fled to the Court of Henry III, and appealed to him against the King of Scotland. Henry prepared for war in 1244.

On 11 June, 1244, he commanded¹ the Mayor of Dublin to purchase for his expedition to Scotland 500 crannocs² of wheat, to be delivered to the Justiciar, and the cost to be allowed in the farm of the city; and he was to seize in his port all ships and boats capable of carrying 40 men, and to send them to Carlingford by 8 August, to transport the King's army of Ireland, where the Justiciar should lead it. This letter is dated at St. Albans, and similar letters were sent to the bailiffs of Cork for 200 crannocs of wheat, the bailiffs of Waterford for 500 crannocs, and the bailiffs and provosts of Drogheda for 300 crannocs of wheat and 300 crannocs of dry oatmeal.

He also granted to the earls, barons and commonalty that if the service to which they were summoned was to be rendered outside Ireland it would not be turned into a precedent; and he notified that the service of joining his expedition against the King of Scots by his nobles and others was rendered of their free will.

The seneschal of Meath on 13th June was ordered to cause, *inter alia*, 500 crannocs of wheat and 500 crannocs of dry oats to be retained, at the fair of Trim, and sent to Drogheda by 8 August,

¹ Abstracts of this and the other mandates subsequently referred to are to be found in the *Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland*, by Sweetman.

² See note on Measures, &c., in Ireland, page 14.

to be delivered to the Justiciar as supplies for the King's expedition.

Donald, King of Tirconnell, Brian O'Neill, King of Tirowen, O'Brien of Thomond, McCarthy of Desmond, and various other Celtic chiefs and Anglo-Norman barons were summoned to this expedition, but on 7 July the King, having made peace with the King of Scotland, thanked them for the services they were prepared to render, and gave them permission to return home.

Henry III made an expedition next year, lasting about ten weeks, in order to fortify the castle of Gannoc, otherwise Dyganwy, near Conway, North Wales. Llewelyn ap Iorwerth made an acknowledgment of English supremacy a few years before, in his extreme old age, when broken down by domestic trouble, but his son and successor, Prince David, was not compliant, and roused the King's wrath. He came to fortify this castle, which was to serve as a stepping-stone to the reduction of Snowdon, as North Wales was called.

On 29 August, 1245, from his camp at Gannoc, he informed the men of Dublin that he was fortifying the castle there, and that nothing prevented him from being successful but scarcity of provisions, which affected him and a great part of the army. He commanded them to send all the provisions they could collect in the city or district, and also the merchants to whom they belonged, to whom good payment would be made.

Similar letters were sent to the men of Waterford, Drogheda, Limerick, Cork and Carrickfergus.

The Justiciar was ordered to expend 500 marks in purchasing corn and flour, and to send it in one or two ships to the King's army as soon as possible; and to cause wine and provision merchants from the cities and towns of Ireland to come to the army with their provisions for which they would be well paid.

The Justiciar came to his aid, first in Anglesey and afterwards at Gannoc, for by writ dated 21 October the King ordered his Treasurer and chamberlains at Dublin to cause 3,000 soldiers, who came from Ireland with the Justiciar to the King's service at Gannoc, to have their pay at 2d. a day for 10 days; ending 29 October. Fethel' (Feidhlim), King of Connaught, accompanied the Justiciar on this occasion.

The King left Gannoc on 27 October, after a stay of about ten weeks. The war had been waged with implacable fury,³ and the whole country was wasted from Gannoc almost to Chester and along the marches of Cheshire and Shropshire, lest the Welsh

³ See note on letter concerning Gannoc campaign, page 15.

should be able to get any provisions. They were also cut off from supplies by sea: as a result, there was a severe famine in North Wales, and there was great difficulty in finding and sending supplies to the English castles there.

On 17 November the King ordered payment to be made out of his Irish treasure for cloth, hides, iron, salt, wines, corn, hogs, and other provisions sent to him at Gannoc.

The King intended to renew the Welsh campaign in 1246, and supplying the border castles was a work of urgency.

On 17 January, 1246, he ordered the Justiciar of Ireland to purchase for his use 300 tuns of wine, 3,000 quarters of wheat, 2,000 quarters of oats, 2,000 hogs, and 5,000 quarters of lime.

On 23 April he ordered his treasurer, the Bishop of Ossory, to send him a like amount, as the bishop had notified to him that there was a larger supply of wine and corn in Leinster than elsewhere in Ireland; and he directed him to use all his diligence in obtaining wine and corn for the use of the army which the King was about to lead into Wales.

On 2 May he repeated his orders to the Justiciar and treasurer; and as corn, wine and other supplies were dearer in Ireland than he expected, he caused his castles of Dissard and Gannoc to be supplied with 100 quarters of wheat in addition to 200 quarters already purchased. Evidently these 300 quarters were procured in England.

Llewelyn ap Gryffyd became Prince of North Wales this year, and soon grew so powerful as to be practically independent. Partly by his energy and ability, and partly by his alliances with English disaffected barons, his country was saved from invasion during the remainder of this reign. For some years, therefore, supplies sent to the English armies or castles on the Welsh border are practically nil.

The next occasion for sending provisions to the English armies arose from the war in Gascony.

When the English territories in France were lost, at the end of the reign of King John, a part of Old Aquitaine, which included Gascony, would not admit the French King, partly through love for their old Duchess, Queen Eleanor, and partly because the English were such good customers for their wine. Henry made a futile attempt in 1229 to recover the lost provinces: he plunged again into a French war in aid of his stepfather, Hugh de Lusignan, Count de la Marche, in 1242, but, defeated at Taillebourg, he lost all Aquitaine except the part south of the Garonne.

Simon de Montfort was sent there as governor in 1248, and by stern government he restored some semblance of order. He was

deprived of his government owing to charges of violence and oppression preferred against him by the disorderly Gascon barons. The country continued very disorderly, and as it appeared to be threatened by France on the one side and Castile on the other, the King determined to make an expedition there in 1253.

On 23 May, 1253, he announced to the Justiciar of Ireland his intention to go to Gascony, and commanded him to cause the castle of Bristol to be safely kept during his absence; and to send him to Bordeaux 1,000 hogs, 500 quarters of wheat, and 500 quarters of oats; and two days afterwards he commanded him to summon the magnates and knights with horses and arms to embark for Bordeaux, about the octaves of Holy Trinity: also to procure competent aids from those who could not come, including archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, towns, &c., the money to be ready by 15 August.

The King appears to have left England about 6 August, 1253, and to have remained in France until the end of 1254. During that time the government of England, Wales and Ireland was committed to Queen Alienor, subject to the counsel of Richard Earl of Cornwall, the King's brother, and various instruments in name of the King were issued by them.

On 27 December, 1253, the Justiciar was informed that the King of Castile with a large army of Christians and Saracens was about to enter Gascony, intending thence to invade England and Ireland, that the King entreated him to embark from Waterford so as to reach him at Gascony in the octaves of Easter with horses, arms and a strong force; that he would always be grateful to those who assisted him in encountering this urgent pressure, and that he would lose confidence in those who abandoned him. He was ordered on 8 January, 1254, to seize all ships in Ireland capable of carrying 16 horses and more, to take security for their being at Waterford by mid-Lent, prepared to sail to Gascony with the Irish barons, knights and others, their horses, equipments and provisions; to provide the ships with fittings and appliances, including 80 bridges, and to send 2,000 hogs and 2,000 quarters of wheat to Gascony: the entire cost to be defrayed out of the King's treasure in Ireland. A pressing request for men and money to defend the country against the King of Castile was made on 17 February, and on 11 April the Justiciar was ordered to send to Gascony all the wheat, hogs and cows held for the King's use in Ireland.

This much-dreaded invasion never came off, the King of Castile was propitiated, and a marriage was arranged between his daughter, the Princess Alienor, and Prince Edward, who was then 15 years old.

The King returned to England by the end of the year, but Prince Edward remained after him in Gascony; and on 1 June, 1255, from Bordeaux, as Lord of Ireland, he ordered the Bishop of Ossory, his treasurer, and Richard de la Rochelle, his seneschal, to send to Gascony 2,000 crannocs of dried wheat in vessels, to take time to pay for it until the following Michaelmas, to cause a granary to be fixed up in the ship bringing the wheat, and to send 2,000 boards to make bretasches.

The King and Prince Edward were at Gannoc part of August and September, 1257, evidently contemplating an attack on Wales. There was a severe famine in England this year, and a great apprehension of danger from Scotland and Wales. The King was resolved to attack the Welsh early in the following year, and Ireland would be expected to furnish aid, as usual. A Parliament was summoned in April, 1258, mainly for the purpose of arranging this campaign: the disaffected barons appeared, with Gloucester and Leicester at their head, and for the time being Wales was saved.

The barons forced great constitutional changes on the King, the foreign policy of England was greatly altered, the King formally abandoned all claim to Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine and Poitou in 1259, peace put an end to the incursions of the Welsh, who were disposed to be friendly to the Lords Marchers, and the export of food for the English armies was not considerable during the remainder of the reign of Henry III.

Prince Edward ordered payments to be made for some small quantities of corn received to victual his castles of North Wales on 2 June, 1260; and on 6 September following he ordered the Justiciar and treasurer of Ireland to send 500 crannocs of corn and 60 tuns of wine to victual the castles of Wales.

Edward I succeeded his father in 1272, but did not return to England until 1274. He summoned Prince Llewelyn to London to pay homage, but in vain. After two years of fruitless negotiation he marched into Wales in 1277 and took him prisoner. He was released on very moderate conditions, and treated with great courtesy; and was married at the King's Court to Eleanor, a daughter of Earl Simon de Montfort, who had been arrested some time before on her way to wed him. One condition was that the title of Prince of Wales should cease on his death. The Welsh rose again under his brother David, 1282-3. Prince Llewelyn, having joined the movement, fell in an obscure skirmish, David was captured, and executed for high treason, and Wales was brought completely under English rule.

It was divided into counties, placed under English law, &c.,

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and a chain of strong castles was drawn around the portion likely to give trouble.

Great supplies were sent from Ireland to the Earl Marshal in Wales from September to December, 1282: they included wheat, oats, onions, cows, hogs, sheep, cheese, salt, beer, and wine.

Supplies were sent to the armies occasionally there from Michaelmas, 1278, to April, 1284, which cost the sum of £1,980 18s. 4d.

Ten years afterwards the storm of war burst again with fury, and for close on thirty years the response of Ireland to demands for food for the English army was very wonderful.

Margaret, Maid of Norway, died at the Orkneys in 1290. There were several claimants to the throne of Scotland, and in 1291 Edward, surrounded by the barons of the north, met the Scottish barons at Norham Castle to settle the question. He demanded that the Scottish nobles should admit his right to the feudal overlordship of Scotland: they did so. He demanded that the claimants, thirteen in number, should submit their claims to him: they did so. In November, 1291, the decision was given in favour of John Baliol, who was crowned King of Scotland, and did homage to Edward for the kingdom. He treated Baliol as if he were a mere feudal vassal, and by 1293 both Baliol and the Scots were deeply incensed with his treatment.

Retribution, however, was at hand. Some English and French sailors quarrelled, and fought off St. Mahé; the French King summoned Edward as his vassal to answer for the acts of his subjects, and, on his refusal, he seized Aquitaine, now known as Guienne.

Edward was engaged in crushing a Welsh rising in 1294: he began to prepare an expedition to recover Guienne in 1295, but the Scotch, when summoned, refused to accompany him, and formed an alliance with France. Edward resolved to reduce Scotland before attacking France: he conquered it in 1296. He allied himself with the Count of Flanders, another feudal vassal of the French King, whom he intended to attack in 1297. He made a truce with France in 1298, and a peace in 1303: the feudal chivalry of Philip were badly beaten by the Flemish burgher infantry, and he restored Guienne: with Scotland the war continued for many years.

From 1294 to 1307 great quantities of provisions were sent to the armies from time to time as follows:—

On 29 June, 1294, a military summons was issued to several Irish barons to be at London by 1 September, with horses and arms, to cross over to Gascony with the King; and on 12 March, 1295, the King commanded his Treasurer of Ireland, as he desired

the honour of the King and the preservation of Gascony and its army, to provide from merchants and others in the country about Cork and Youghal, the ports nearest to Gascony and furthest from the King, as quickly as possible, ten or twelve or more ship-loads of good wheat and oats, and to send them to that army to Bayonne, Ryons, Bourg-sur-Mer, &c.; and to send such victuals as he could to the King in Wales from the next places in Ireland. This mandate was dated at Aberconway.

The King and his army in Wales, having sufficient provisions: soon after, he ordered the Treasurer to send no further supplies from Ireland except hay and beer, but to send all the wheat and oats he could to Gascony, where there was much need. This mandate was dated on 30 March, 1295, at Aberconway.

A memorandum was issued on 16 September stating that the ship "Holy Cross" of Ross was laden with 200 quarters of wheat (100 containing 5 score quarters by strike measure of London) and with 200 quarters of oats, to be safely carried to Gascony, as the King had commanded the Treasurer of Ireland.

A similar memorandum was issued on 16 July, 1296, stating that the ship "St. Mary" of Rospoint⁴ was laden with 67 quarters of wheat (including 10 quarters, measure as aforesaid), 156 quarters of oats, and 40 quarters of beans, to be carried to Gascony as before; and on the 18th a like memorandum concerning 168 quarters of wheat (like London measure), 90 quarters of oats and 66 quarters of beans placed in the ship "The Snake" of Rospoint, to be conveyed to Gascony for the King's army.

On 9 August the King, who was then at Perth, commanded the Treasurer to provide as great a store of wheat as possible in Ireland, whether obtainable in Ireland or without it, and to send it to Gascony. The ships were to sail separately or in greater numbers, and the masters were to be sworn to keep to the open sea without approaching the coast of France or Brittany. The King was to be apprised of the departure of ships from Ireland and the quantity of wheat they carried. And on 7 September, from Berwick-on-Tweed, he thanked him for the arrival of two ships sent to Gascony with wheat, oats, and beans, and urged him to provide from the diocese of Dublin as well as elsewhere, as large a store as possible of wheat, oats, and beans, and to send them in ships to Gascony as quickly as possible by twos, threes, or more at the time, and not to spare money for this purpose.

In the account of the Treasurer of Ireland at the end of 1296

⁴ This ship was afterwards discharged at Plymouth as being unseaworthy.

there is a very full account of supplies shipped from Ireland to provision the castles of Harlech, Criccieth, Carnarvon, Beaumaris, and Aberconway. Immense quantities of wheat, oats, malt of wheat, malt of oats, &c., were sent. This gives name of ship, cargo and port in Ireland from which it sailed. The grain consisted of 452 quarters of wheat, 140 quarters of oats, 280 crannocs of malt of oats, and 50 crannocs of malt of wheat: there were also 504 lbs. of onions. In the same account it appears that there were sent to Gascony 863 quarters of wheat, 492 quarters of oats, and 212 quarters of beans.

From February to August, 1297, advices were sent from Ireland to keepers of King's stores in Gascony that 16 ships, with 3,898 quarters of wheat and 814 quarters of oats, had been sent; the names of ships, Irish ports of sailing, and dates are given. Pressing orders for men and provisions for Gascony were sent on 4 and 5 May, 1297.

In his account for Michaelmas the Treasurer represents that purveyors had sent in accounts claiming that 4,136 quarters of wheat and 379 crannocs of oats had been sent to Gascony.

On 8 December, 1297, the King ordered the Treasurer and chamberlains of the Exchequer, Ireland, that 500 quarters of wheat and 500 quarters of malt should be shipped to Carnarvon to supply the Welsh castles; and the treasurer's account for Easter, 1298, contains accounts of payments to purveyors⁵ for some of the corn required.

The King, on 15 April, being about to march into Scotland to repress rebellion, ordered his Justiciar, chancellor and treasurer of Ireland and the barons of the Exchequer to provide in Ireland as quickly as possible and to send him to Carlisle by 24 June all the wheat, oats, wines, meat, fish, and other victuals they could procure, and a further supply by 1 August. Close on £2,000 was advanced from the Irish Treasury to purveyors to purchase these supplies, as appears by the account of treasury payments, T. 1298.

He intended to proceed against the Scotch in the summer of 1299, and, in preparation for this, he informed the Justiciar, Chancellor and Treasurer of Ireland on 12 December, 1298, that he was obliged to have recourse to Ireland for supplies, and commanded them to provide him with 8,000 quarters of wheat (6,000 of these to be in bolted flour, without bran, placed in dry and safe barrels), 10,000 quarters of oats, 2,000 quarters of ground

⁵ See note on the procedure adopted in procuring provisions by purveyors, page 17.

malt, 1,000 tuns of wine (to be procured from Gascony if necessary), 500 carcasses of salt beef, 1,000 fat pigs, and 20,000 dried fish; and to cause these supplies to be in the port of Skinburness, near Carlisle, by Pentecost. Advances to purveyors, amounting to £1,900, appear in the treasury payment account for H. 1299, and £2,279 9s. 8d. in the account for T. 1299.

During the years 1298-9 the Welsh castles also received substantial supplies from Ireland.

On 17 January, 1300, the King informed the Justiciar, chancellor and treasurer of Ireland that for the safety of his Crown, the common utility of the kingdom and the King's demesnes, and in order to guard against losses from the Scottish rebellion, he proposed to be at Carlisle on 24 June; and he commanded them to provide and send him to Carlisle by that date 300 hobelers, well armed, the best that could be found, 3,000 quarters of wheat, 2,000 quarters of oats, 300 tuns of wine, and 10,000 stock-fish.

The King prepared to attack the Scotch in 1301, after the feast of Pentecost (when the truce granted to them at the request of the King of France would end), and on 3 April, 1301, he ordered the Justiciar, the chancellor or his deputy, and the treasurer of Ireland to buy and provide as quickly as possible 3,000 quarters of wheat (2,000 to be in bolted flour without bran, safely stowed in barrels, and 1,000 in pure, dry grain), 3,000 quarters of oats, 2,000 quarters of ground malt, 500 quarters of beans and peas, 200 tuns of new wine, 500 quarters of salt, 10,000 stock-fish, and 5 lasts of herrings. The King proposed to be at Berwick-on-Tweed and the Prince of Wales at Carlisle on 24 June; one moiety of these provisions was to be sent to the port of Skinburness, near Carlisle, and the other to the port in the island of Arran, and each moiety was to be at its destination and ready by 24 June. The King stated in his mandate that it was necessary to have recourse to Ireland for these provisions.

The war lasted the entire year. On 21 November, 1301, he announced his intention to remain with his army in Scotland during the approaching winter in order to repress his Scotch enemies; and he issued the now customary mandate to his Justiciar and others to buy 2,000 quarters of wheat, 2,000 quarters of oats, 2,000 quarters of malt, 4,000 large fish, and 20,000 herrings, for the use of the King, his son, and his lieges in the expedition. Specified portions were to be sent to Skinburness to James de Dalilegh, keeper of the stores, to supply the castles of Dumfries and Loughmaban, and the remainder to the castle of Newcastleton-upon-Ayr for the constable there: these supplies were to be at their destination before 2 February, 1302. Another

mandate was sent on 5 December, 1301, to provide 200 tuns of wine and 20 tuns of honey, to be sent to James de Dalilegh in like manner.

On 1 May, 1302, there was a mandate for 2,000 quarters of wheat, 2,000 quarters of oats, 1,000 quarters of malt, and 100 tuns of wine, in addition to those already ordered, to be sent to Newcastle-upon-Ayr to the receiver of the King's stores there; and on 15 June there was an urgent mandate to send these provisions with all possible expedition.

There were also mandates for provisions in the years 1303 and 1304: again in 1306, when the aged King was commencing his final effort to crush Bruce and subdue the Scotch, he had recourse to Ireland for provisions for his army.

On 1 March, 1306, the customary mandate was sent to provide 3,000 quarters of wheat, 3,000 quarters of oats, 1,000 quarters of malt of oats, 200 tuns of wine, 200 carcasses of beef, 300 hogs, and 10,000 hard fish; one-half of these supplies to be sent to Skinburness and the other half to Newcastle-upon-Ayr: the provisions to be conveyed to Skinburness on or before the feast of the Ascension next ensuing.

It is unnecessary to extend these lists into the reigns of Edward II and Edward III. More than enough has been done to show the great quantity of corn and other provisions that could be spared and exported for the use of the English armies at this period, and a comparison with the contributions of large shires in England then notable for fertility and good farming would prove most interesting and instructive.

STANDARD OF LIVING, FARMING, ETC.

Among the deeds and documents transferred to the Public Record Office of Ireland from Christchurch, Dublin, there is a valuable collection of accounts for the years 1337-46. The Account Roll containing them has been edited, with translation, notes and introduction by the late Mr James Mills, as an extra volume for this Society, under the title of "Account Roll of the Priory of the Holy Trinity, Dublin, 1337-1346," &c.

This Priory owned manors and lands in the counties of Dublin, Down, Kildare, Louth and Tipperary. The greater part of this property was let to tenants, but, especially in the county of Dublin, large manor farms were farmed for the Priory by its own officers and workmen.

There is a rental of the manors of Glasnevin, Grangegorman, &c., giving the names, rents and customary services of the farmers and cottagers there.

The husbandry accounts, including that of the bailiff of Clonkeen, give a clear idea of farm buildings, carts, ploughs and instruments of husbandry, wages, food and drink given to farm labourers and other persons employed, the nature of their work and the days on which they were employed, seed used for tilling, farming operations, quantity of crops, and accounts of their disposal. Tradesmen (carpenter, smith, &c.) were employed, cattle bought and sold, stores and materials procured, corn ground at the mill, and the malthouse constantly brought into requisition. These and other transactions appearing in the accounts give valuable and reliable information concerning agricultural products and operations, wages and food of farm labourers and tradesmen, prices of stock, cost of material, and in a general way the position and standard of living of the agricultural classes in the county of Dublin at this period.

I regret to say that I am not aware of an account of the household expenses of any Irish layman or noble of the period that would give an accurate idea of the standard of living of the wealthier classes. These accounts, however, furnish a detailed account of the table and some other expenses of the Prior of Holy Trinity that will enable us to infer what such standard of living must have been.

The income of the House, estimated in money and kind, was probably about £300 yearly, equivalent to about £4,500 in the first half of the year 1914. It was, therefore, far from rich in comparison with several religious houses of the time, and its annual receipts would fall far short of those of even a lesser magnate.

Three meals were served daily in the Prior's chamber, consisting of breakfast, dinner and supper: the Prior abstained from meat on Fridays only.

Breakfast was generally a substantial meal, including bread, capons, pasties, oysters or salmon, and wine or ale.

Dinner and supper were both substantial, with abundance of meat, but without many different dishes. The principal articles of food were bread, beef and mutton, fowls, capons, geese (in autumn), lamb (in season), pork, pigeons, goslings, rabbits, larks, and plovers.

In Lent and on Fridays there was a plentiful supply of fish, viz.:—Salmon, oysters, stock-fish, and herrings, which were the most common, and other kinds occasionally, such as eels, trout, turbot, plaice, gurnard and salted eels.

Bread was in use at every meal, and butter and cheese were in common use. The onion was the favourite vegetable at table:

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beans and peas were grown in large quantities, but they appear to have been eaten mainly by labourers or given to cattle.

Other articles in use for the table were olive oil, almonds, walnuts, rice, salt, pepper, mustard, ginger, saffron and spices.

The standing drink at every meal was ale or beer: wine was also used at the Prior's table.

Again I feel precluded from drawing further on the valuable materials in this book by Mr. Mills. It is easily accessible to those who wish to investigate the matter thoroughly. More than enough has been done to show that food of good quality, and luxuries, too, were to be found in Ireland at this period; and that the standard of living compared very favourably with that existing in other countries.

NOTES.

MEASURES, &C., IN IRELAND.

By an Act * of the Irish Parliament passed *a. r. liij*, Hen. III (1269) it was enacted

that one and the same measure of every kind of corn, one and the same gallon, one and the same weights, and one and the same ell shall be from henceforth throughout all Ireland as they are appointed and approved in the City of London.

Pursuant to this Act the general measure of corn at Dublin, and most probably at the principal ports and markets of Ireland, was the quarter of London in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The Irish measure called the crannoc was equivalent to it, and both names for the same quantity of corn are sometimes used interchangeably in the same accounts.

Thirty years later it was stated officially that according to the custom of Dublin the quarter of wheat contained 7 bushels rased, and the eighth bushel heaped. This statement occurs in a letter of advice dated 20 February, 1299, from the Irish Exchequer to the Chamberlain of Wales, announcing the despatch of 161 quarters of wheat for supplies of the castles of Carnarvon, Beaumaris, Krikin, and Harlech (*Sweetman's Calendar*, vol. iv, p. 286); and it may be noted here that as the Irish crannoc corresponded to the English quarter the Irish peck corresponded to the English bushel.

Notwithstanding the effort of the Irish Parliament to establish one measure and one weight throughout Ireland, local customs must have begun to spring up, for an Act * was passed in the year 1320 (*a. r. xiiij*, Ed. II, c. 9) by the Irish Parliament to the effect

that there be one measure and one weight throughout all Ireland, that is to say, wheat and other grain [to be measured by] the quarter of wheat of London, of eight pecks, seven of which to be rased and the eighth heaped, and of oats fourteen pecks heaped.

* See "Early Statutes, Ireland" (Irish Rolls Series) By H. F. Berry.

And that bushels, gallons of wine and ale, and the other measures be in accordance with the King's standard throughout all Ireland.

It will be noticed that the custom of Dublin above referred to was established as the law by this statute; and that the bushel and the peck are equivalent.

During the years 1240-1350 we may, therefore, regard the quarter or crannoc of wheat, barley, hastivell, beans or peas as containing 8 bushels or pecks, seven to be rased and the eighth heaped; and in the case of oats the quarter or crannoc contained fourteen bushels or pecks heaped.

It will not be necessary to refer to more than two local customs.

In the Norfolk Accounts, 1279-94, deposited in the Public Record Office, London, and described as "Ministers' Accounts of the Lands, &c., of the Earl of Norfolk, in Co. Carlow," the crannoc of wheat is found to contain 8 bushels and the crannoc of oats 16 bushels.

In the Accounts of the Priory of Holy Trinity, 1337-46, referred to in pages 12-14, the crannoc of wheat is represented as containing 7 heaped pecks, and that of oats as containing 14 pecks; and the crannoc of wheat, barley, hastivell, beans or peas is also represented as containing 8 pecks, apparently rased.

Local deviations from the legal standard became greater and greater in the course of time.

LETTER CONCERNING GANNOC CAMPAIGN, 1245.

The following is a translation of a letter † written by a nobleman serving with the army of Henry III during the Gannoc campaign, which illustrates very vividly the ferocity and bitterness with which the war was waged. It runs thus:—Greeting. The lord the King with his army has remained at Gannoc to fortify a certain fortress which is now most strongly fortified there; and we live around it in our tents in watchings, in fasts, in prayers, in cold and nakedness. In watchings through fear of the Welshmen who rush upon us suddenly and by night. In fasts through want of victuals, as the halfpenny loaf is worth five pence. In prayers that we may return safe and unharmed to our own as soon as possible. In cold and nakedness because our houses are made of linen, and we lack winter garments.

There is, however, a certain small arm of the sea, like a port, ascending and descending under the said fortress where we abide, where ships often have come to our quarters bringing victuals from Ireland and from Chester, and that arm is between us and Snowdon, where the Welshmen now live, and when the sea is full it is only the distance of a cross-bow shot in breadth. Now on Monday (25 September) next before Michaelmas, in the afternoon, it happened that a certain ship from Ireland, bringing victuals to us for sale, arrived at the entrance of the port, but as it was carelessly steered it settled, on the ebb of the sea, on dry land under our said fortress on the far bank towards the Welshmen. Hence the Welshmen running towards it attacked it on the dry ground, but we,

† The original is printed in *Matthæi Parisiensis Chronica Majora*, vol. iv, p. 481, (Rolls Series.)

seeing this from the near bank, sent over the water by boats three hundred Welsh marchers belonging to us from Cheshire and Shropshire, and cross-bow men and armed knights with them to defend the said ship. The Welsh, on perceiving this, hastily betook themselves to their accustomed and familiar retreats in the woods and mountains, but our knights accompanied by our men, although they were on foot because they had not brought horses with them across the water, pursuing them for a distance of two leagues, wounded and slew many of the Welshmen. Our men, therefore, returning triumphant from the enemy, eager and resolved to rob, plunder, and burn in the district over the water, among other sacrilegious acts irreverently robbing an abbey of the Cistercian Order at Aberconway of all its goods, including its chalices and books, burned its buildings. In the meantime, the Welshmen, with a wailing shout, collecting a great number of their men, suddenly attacking our men who were loaded with spoils so vilely obtained and wrapped up in their sins, put many of them to flight and wounded and butchered those who unhappily turned in flight to the ship. Some of our men preferring to be engulfed by the waves and die submerged rather than to be slain at the will of their enemies, plunged themselves of their own accord, when about to perish, into the waves of the sea. They also captured our knights alive in order to imprison them, but, having heard that we had slain some of their nobles, and especially the son of Odo Naveth, most elegant and valorous, they, too, hanged our men, beheading and horribly mutilating them, and finally they flung their miserable bodies, dismembered into the river in detestation of their guilty avarice, inasmuch as they did not even spare the church of the monks.

Of our men there fell in that conflict certain valiant knights of the household of Richard Earl of Cornwall, namely, Sir Alan Buscel, Sir Adam de Moia, Sir Geoffrey Esturmy, and a fourth, a Gascon cross-bow man named Reymund, about whom the King was often wont to jest. Of the soldiers who were killed, besides those that were drowned, the number was about a hundred: of the Welshmen there were as many or more.

In the meantime there was in the ship, which he bravely defended, Sir Walter Biset with his men until about midnight in unceasing battle against the Welshmen, who were attacking valiantly on every side, and if our men had not the ship's bulwarks for a wall all would have fallen into the hands of the enemy. At length, the sea having risen, and the floating ship having then become inaccessible, the Welsh withdrew, grieving that our men were snatched out of their hands. There were sixty tuns of wine in the ship besides other victuals most desirable and opportune, of which we were then deprived. Morning having come, and the sea having ebbed, the Welsh returned with alacrity, in the belief that our men were occupying the ship, but by the providence of God during the night while it was high water, our men, abandoning the ship and coming to us in our boats, escaped before the arrival of the Welsh. The Welsh, having come up, took away nearly all the wine and other things which they found in the ship, and, departing as the sea was rising, they set fire to the ship and broke it up, and one half of the ship was burned. The other part was saved, with seven tuns of wine, which we hauled to the near bank. During the time we

have spent in the army, in want of many things we have often gone out armed exposed to many dangers in order to obtain necessities, sustaining many snares and assaults of the Welsh, suffering losses, and more often inflicting them on the enemy in the lucky chances of war. In one battle we brought back in triumph to camp nearly one hundred heads of headless bodies. About that time there was such a scarcity of victuals, such a dearth of all necessities, that we suffered irreparable loss of men as well as of horses. There was a time (*hora*) in which there was no wine in the entire house of the King, or even in the army, except one solitary tun: a load (*summa*) of wheat was purchased for twenty shillings, a well-fed cow for three or four marks, a hen for eight pence. Therefore, men and horses pined away, and many, wasted by want of nourishment, perished.

PROCEDURE ADOPTED IN PROCURING PROVISIONS BY PURVEYORS.

The following abstracts¹ and particulars are given to illustrate the normal procedure adopted in procuring provisions for the armies by means of purveyors:—

I. Edward II commands his Justiciar and Treasurer of Ireland or their deputies, to purchase out of the issues of Ireland, and provide without delay 200 quarters of wheat, 400 quarters of oats, and 100 tuns of wine; to cause these provisions to be carried by sea to the port of Skinburness to be delivered to the Receiver of the King's provisions at Carlisle for supplying the castle and town there according as his clerk, William de Somery, who has been sent to supervise and speed the business, will explain; to relax nothing in this service as they love the King and his honour; to make an indenture of the price and cost of procuring these provisions between them and the said clerk, who shall deposit it in the King's wardrobe on his return; to inform the Receiver of the price and cost aforesaid in the indentures made between them and the mariners who shall transport the provisions, so that he may acquit himself of the price of such victuals as any persons may receive from him; and to pay 1s. 6d. daily to William de Somery from the day of his arrival for such business while he shall remain engaged thereon.

The costs of purchase, carriage and wages shall be allowed in their account at the Exchequer.

Witness, John, bishop of Bath and Wells at Westminster on 12 June, *a. r. vij*, Ed. II (1313).

This mandate was enrolled before Edmund le Botiller, custos of Ireland, at Tilagh on 24 August, *a. r. vij*, Ed. II (1313): it was delivered into the Exchequer for enrolment on 1st September, and then handed to the chamberlains for safe custody.

II. Edward II appoints his clerk, William de Somery, to supervise the diligence and haste of the Sheriffs of Dublin, Meath, and Louth, and the purveyors of the King's provisions at Dublin and Drogheda in providing the supplies in No. I (the word *crannoc* being used instead of

¹ The documents of which abstracts are given are enrolled in the Memorandum Roll of the Exchequer, Ireland, Trinity term, *a. r. vij. & vij*, Ed. II (1313).

quarter), and in executing the King's mandate; and all persons are to assist him in such work.

Dated at Dublin, 1 September, *a. r. vij*, Ed. II (1313).

This commission was issued by the Deputy of the Treasurer of the Exchequer, who issued commissions on the same day to two purveyors at Dublin and two purveyors at Drogheda to provide and purchase in the neighbourhood of their respective ports the provisions specified in No. I for the purpose therein, and to return into the Exchequer an account of their receipts and payments of the King's money when required.

Writs were issued on same day by the said Deputy to the Sheriffs of Dublin, Meath and Louth, commanding each in his own bailiwick by the view and order of the said William de Somery to cause the quantities of provisions specified in their respective writs to be provided; to prepare indentures between them and the persons from whom they would take the corn, stating the quantities so taken, the Sheriff of Dublin to cause the provisions provided by him to be carried to Dublin port and delivered to the purveyors there, the Sheriffs of Meath and Louth to cause their provisions to be carried to and delivered to the purveyors at Drogheda, and all the Sheriffs to inform the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer of the quantities severally provided by them and the quantities delivered by them to the purveyors.

This sufficiently explains the system: it would be superfluous here to go into cases of taking provisions compulsorily, adjusting disputes concerning price, and other incidents of royal purveyance.



MONAINCHA, COUNTY TIPPERARY
(From a photograph kindly supplied by Mr. H. S. Crawford)

MONAINCHA, CO. TIPPERARY.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

By C. McNEILL, *Hon. Gen. Sec.*

THE name Monaincha or Monahincha (Móininnse, the bog of the island) is not found in early records. It was applied at the beginning of the 18th century to the northern part of the great bog of Monela, as Ledwich calls it,¹ that is Móin Eile, the Bog of Eile, for Eile was the ancient name of the territory in which it lies. The whole bog is now marked Monaincha Bog on the maps of the Ordnance Survey, and the more correct name of Moin-Eile has dropped out of use. It had itself displaced a more particular designation recorded in the Latin form of "Gronna Lurgan,"² that is the Bog of Lurga; in Irish, no doubt, Móin Lurgan.

Monaincha represents in fact, but half a name, and its complete form would be Moin-Innse-Locha-Cré, the Bog of the Island of Loch Cré. Inis-Locha-Cré, the Island of Loch-Cré is the proper name of the site of the monastery to which, in comparatively recent times, the name of Monaincha has been given. From the reign of King John to that of Queen Elizabeth it bore another, viz. : Inis-na-mbeo, Insula Viventium, the Island of the living, by which Giraldus Cambrensis had described it, but neither this name nor the story Cambrensis tells to account for it is traced in any authority earlier than himself. In the Irish Annals the place is always called the Island of Loch Cre.

The first annalistic mention of the place is at a date corresponding with A.D. 807. "In this year Elarius, anchorite and scribe of Loch Cre fell asleep in Christ." There is no doubt that Elarius is Elair na hInsi, Elair of the Island, that is the Island of Loch Cre, as the gloss adds, commemorated in martyrologies compiled after his death but not in the martyrology of Oengus the Culdee, his contemporary, and the S. Hilarius whom Ware names as patron of the priory of Inchinemeo, alias Insula Viventium.³ It does not appear on what authority Ware relied for this dedication, nor was it absolutely certain to him, for he adds "alias B. Mariae," showing that there were others who ascribed

¹ *Antiquities of Ireland*, 2nd ed. P. 114.

² *Vita S. Cronani* in Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, vol. ii, p. 26.

³ *Antiquities*, 1658, p. 239. In Harris's edition, 1745, p. 266, it is stated, after Alemand, that the founder was S. Donan in the seventh century. This appears to be a misunderstanding of what Ware says, p. 242, of the Priory of Thome. Alemand's account, *Histoire Monastique d'Irlande*, pp. 67 and 320, is a very confused one.

the patronage to the Blessed Virgin. Neither in the Annals nor in Ware is there anything to show that S. Elarius, even if he were patron, was regarded as the founder of the church of Monaincha, and the assertion of Dr. Reeves⁴ that it was founded by S. Hilary in the 8th century would need more definite testimony. Furthermore, local tradition claimed as patron S. Columba, whose feast, says Archdall, was kept here on 15th June, and who may consequently be distinguished from S. Columcille, commemorated on 9th June. In fact, Colum of the Island of Loch Cre appears in the Martyrologies at 15th May, so that Archdall, or his informant, may have been mistaken in the month. Unfortunately, no particulars are given from which the time of this Colum can be deduced.

That the foundation was made much earlier than the 8th century will be seen from certain passages in the Lives of early Irish saints to have been taken as an unquestioned fact by the writers, and whatever authority their testimony has supports the view that a monastic settlement of some sort, perhaps no more than a hermitage, existed on the Island of Loch Cre before the end of the 6th century, and that St Cainnech of Aghaboe, the patron of Kilkenny, is the first saint whose name is connected with the island, though he may not have established a separate community there.

In the latter half of the 6th century, after his return from Northern Britain, where he had shared in the apostolic labours of his close friend and fellow-Ulsterman, S. Columcille, S. Cainnech established a monastery at Aghaboe, in Ossory, not far from the borders of the adjoining province of Munster. But the desire for extreme asceticism, which was characteristic of the early Irish monks, impelled him to quit his monastery and bury himself in some solitude, where he could devote himself to prayer and mortification unseen by men. The Bog of Lurga, about ten miles from Aghaboe but within the borders of Munster, attracted him to its waste of pools, quagmires and woodland. He penetrated its recesses and, as his life relates, he crossed dry-foot without boat or raft into the island of Loch Cre and fasted there for forty days after the example of our Lord, exposed to the weather and lying on the naked ground. An accident revealed his whereabouts. A deer pursued by hounds took refuge in the island; the hunter followed them, and saw with surprise his dogs and their quarry resting peacefully before one whom he recognised as the lost Abbot of Aghaboe. The saint bound him to keep the secret unless he should be about to die, and he returned to his home. He soon afterwards fell ill, and believing himself to be at the point of death he told what he had seen on the island and was immediately restored to health. The monks of Aghaboe hastened to the spot and brought back St Cainnech to his monastery. This

⁴ *The Culdees of the British Isles*, 1864, p. 21.

experience convinced him that he was not called to the life of a hermit: but he returned again to Loch Cre, as appears from two other passages, one of which relates that he wrote on the island a copy of the Four Gospels, from which it may be inferred that he was not then without the shelter of a roof. This manuscript, celebrated by the title of "Glass Cainnigh," Cainnech's Green Book, was preserved at Aghaboe down to the time when his life was written. The other passage tells that in one of his visits to Iona, St Cainnech preached a sermon that everyone heard with admiration. "Who was it, Cainnech," Columcille asked him, "that gave you that insight into the Gospel?" "The Son of the Virgin knows," replied Cainnech, with his usual emphatic phrase, "that when I was in the island of Loch Cre in Ireland, not far from Mount Smoir [Sl. Bloom] the Lord Jesus Christ came to me, and I read the Gospel with Him, and it was He that taught me that meaning of it."⁵

There is evidence that the monastery of the island had a continuous existence after the death of S. Cainnech. In the succeeding century, the neighbouring church of Clonfert-Mulloe, or Kyle, about five miles to the west of Loch Cre, was ruled by St Molua. When he felt his end approaching he called his monks about him and gave them his parting counsel in words that may be cited as a picture of an Irish monastery of the time, one of those in which were trained the missionaries who now began to leave our shores in troops, and brought to Central Europe not only Christianity, but secular learning, humanity, industry and the arts of agriculture.

"Most dearly beloved brethren," he said, "till well the soil and labour well that you may have enough of food and drink and clothing. For where there is enough among the servants of God there shall be steadfastness; and where there is steadfastness in service there shall be exact observance of rule. Now, the end of observance of rule shall be life eternal. Most dearly beloved sons, let there be steadfastness among you; let there be fitting silence; have a care of travellers; next to prayer love working with your hands; receive guests at all times for the sake of Christ. Always devote yourselves to prayer in the morning, and after that to reading, and then to labour (so he divided the day into three); employing yourselves until evening in the work of God and other needful occupations."

After this Molua went to Loch Cre to see S. Cronan and take leave of the world. He found S. Cronan then dwelling in the island,⁶ and there received from him the Holy Eucharist. We

⁵ *Vita S. Caimnici*, Plummer, vol. i, p. 167, *sqq.*

⁶ This is the statement of the text followed by Plummer: "Venit sanctus senex Molua ad sanctum Cronanum in insula Cre tunc habitantem." The Codex Salmanticensis, however, has after Cronanum, "Ruis Cree, sedentem tunc in cella San Ruis." *Vita SS. Hib.*, vol. ii, p. 223.

may assume about this time S Cronan built his own first church in Eile at Sean Ross, now called Corbally. His life in telling of this foundation makes mention of the monastery in the island: "St Cronan came to East Munster to his own country of Hele (Eile) and halted beside the Bog of Lurga, over against the land of the Osraighe (Ossory) which is the western district of Leinster. He built then a church near Loch Cre in which lake there is a monastery of ever religious monks. The name of the church is Sean Ross.⁷ S Cronan died in 665,⁸ after he had transferred his monastery from Sean Ross to Roscrea."

There is after this a wide gap until the chronicle of Loch Cre is taken up by the annalists in the following scanty and meagre entries:

A.D. 807. Elarius, anchorite and scribe of Loch Cre fell asleep in Christ.⁹

923. Flaithbheartach, son of Ionmainéin, was captured by the Norsemen on the Island of Loch Cre and taken to Limerick.¹⁰

1120. Fearghail of the Island of Loch Cre, a venerable senior [*i.e.*, abbot] and a chosen soldier of God departed to Christ.¹¹

1138. Maelpatraic O'Drugain, the sagest doctor of the Irish, Head of the Schools of Armagh, the most learned man of Western Europe, eminent in virtue and religious observance, fell asleep in the Lord on 2 January during his pilgrimage in the Island of Loch Cre.¹²

1143. Macraith O'Fidan, Head of the island of Loch Cre, died.¹³

After the death of Macraith O'Fidan in 1143 no mention of the Island of Loch Cre is found until we come to the time of the Anglo-Norman invasion, when the place attracted the notice of Gerald Barry, the Welshman, for the wonders to be told of it. There were then, as he says, two churches on separate islands in the lake; one of them on the larger island was "*ecclesia antiquae religionis*," not, as Ledwich understood the words, "a church of the old religion," but a church of an old religious order, indicating, presumably, that its community still followed one of the ancient Irish rules, a circumstance of so much interest that, had the versatile Archdeacon's foresight been as keen as his

⁷ *Vita S. Cronani*, Plummer, *Vitae SS. Hib.*, vol. ii, p. 26.

⁸ Ussher, *Antiquitates*, vol. xvii, in *Works* (Elrington), vol. vi, p. 541.

⁹ *Annals of Ulster*, 806 (=807); *Four Masters*, 802.

¹⁰ *Annals of Ulster*, 922; *Four Masters*, 921.

¹¹ *Annals of Innisfallen*, 1120; *Annals of Ulster* and *Four Masters*, 1119.

¹² Colgan, *Trias Thaum.*, 304, 2.

¹³ *Four Masters*, 1143.

anxiety for fame, he would have chosen to describe in full the ordinary life of that house instead of his incredible marvels. This community was probably the one which at a later period, as the majority of the early Irish monks had already done, adopted the rule of Canons Regular of St Augustin, and were seated at Corbally, on the mainland to the north-west of the lake. The church of the smaller island, devoutly served by celibates called Celicolae or Colidei, is the one whose ruins stand on the bog island of Monaincha. The following is Gerald Barry's account in his *Topographia Hibernica*, distinctio ii, cap. iv, in the chapter entitled "Of two islands in one of which no one dies, in the other no animal of the female sex enters."

There is, he says, a lake in North Munster containing two islands, a greater and a less. The greater has a church of an ancient religious order, and the less has a chapel served by a few celibates whom they call Celicolae or Colidei. No woman or animal of the female sex could enter the greater island without dying immediately. This has been put to the proof many times by means of dogs, cats and other animals of that sex, which have often been brought to it as a test, and have died at once. As regards the birds of the district, it is wonderful how, when the males settle at random on the bushes of the islands the hen birds fly past and leave their males there, and avoid that island like a plague, as if well aware of its natural power. No one ever died or could die in the smaller island, whence it is called the Isle of the Living; yet from time to time persons are afflicted with deadly ailments and suffer agonies to their last breath. When they feel that there is no longer any hope of really living, and by the increase of their disease they are in the end so distressed that they would rather die outright than continue in living death, they have themselves brought at last in a boat to the greater island, and they give up the ghost as soon as they touch the land.

The further history of the monastery is a blank until the reign of Queen Elizabeth. What happened to it in the first years after the suppression of the religious houses is unknown. The canons may, perhaps, have lived on under the protection of the Earls of Ormond or the O'Carrolls of Ely in the remoteness and obscurity of their old home, for there is no record of a surrender to the crown; and the crown title was not found until 27th December, 1568, when an inquisition sworn for the purpose found the monastery of the Virgin Mary in Inchenemo or island of the living to belong to the Queen by virtue of an Act of Parliament. The monastery and its possessions were afterwards leased for several successive terms to Sir William Carroll and his son,¹⁴ and were ultimately granted to Sir Lucas Dillon.¹⁵

¹⁴ Fiant, *Eliz.*, nos. 973, 1319, 9399, 4923.

¹⁵ Archdall, *Monast.*, p. 669.

The Rev. Matthew Kelly, in his edition of "Cambrensis Eversus" (1848) gives some interesting local details: "The place was formerly frequented by pilgrims, and five of the stations are yet remembered. About 100 years ago the proprietor of the place drained the lake, forbade all access to the church either for burial or pilgrimage, destroyed tombstones and erected round the church a circular mound, composed, the people say, of the mortal remains of the hundred [!] generations deposited in that favourite churchyard. . . . The people regard St Columba as the founder of the church." The antiquities of Monaincha have been discussed in more or less detail by Archdall in his *Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 667, Ledwich in his *Antiquities of Ireland*, 2nd edition, pp. 102, and O'Donovan, *Annals of the Four Masters* at A.D. 802. There is a detailed description of the ruins by O'Donovan in O. S. Letters, Co. Tipperary, vol. ii.

In volume ii of our *Journal* (1852-3), pp. 56-7, a tombstone then discovered on the site was described by Mr. T. L. Cooke. The stone measured 49 inches in length, $22\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth, and was two inches thick; it bore an Irish inscription, read as follows:

E. A.
OR AR muenach
ua maellugdach

"E. A. (probably A Ω) a prayer for Maenach Ua Maellugdach"; Mr Cooke believed the lettering to be of the 9th or 10th century; but the surname points to a later date.

MONAINCHA CHURCH.

ARCHITECTURAL NOTES.

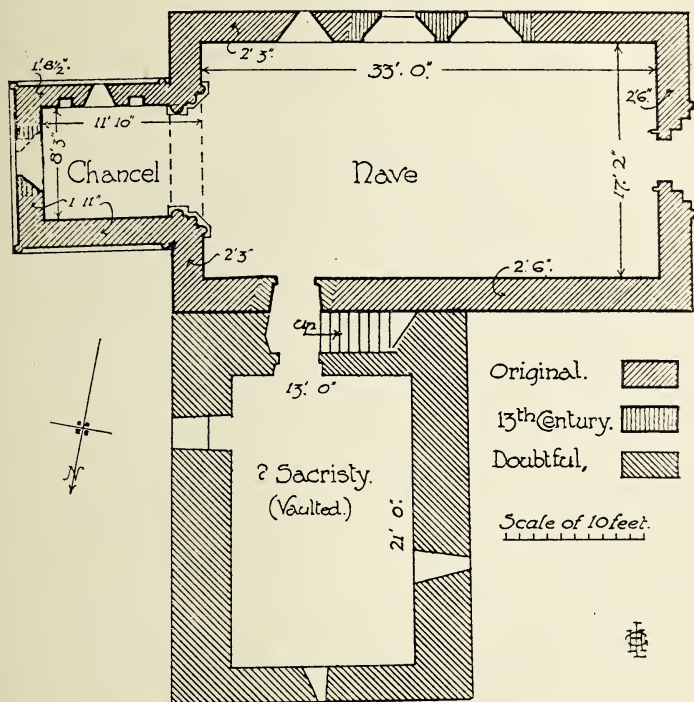
By HAROLD G. LEASK, M.R.I.A.I., *Fellow*.

The little ruined church of Monaincha stands upon what, in past times, was probably an island in a lake or a marsh, and is now but a slight eminence over the surrounding drained bog. It is about three miles by road from the town of Roscrea, west of the latter and close to the border of the County of Tipperary.

I first saw it on the occasion of an extremely brief official visit, upon the afternoon of a summer day, its walls golden in the rays of the westering sun, the little green mound with its circling wall and groups of beach trees forming a perfect setting in the level bogland, bright with ragweed and bordered in the distance by woods. The whole effect was very suggestive of a Petrie water-colour sketch, with just that delicacy and precision

which is the great charm of his work. It must have impressed him, since there is in the archives of our Society a colour sketch by him with the title "An ideal Irish Romanesque Church," which is undoubtedly a portrait, from memory, of Monaincha.

It is here intended simply to describe the ruins in detail, giving some drawings and photographs illustrative of all the legible



PLAN FIG. 1.

work now to be found. With more time to spare it would doubtless be quite possible to ascertain the character of the less legible details of the ornament. Only such details and ornaments as are now perfectly legible are illustrated. It is not intended to advance any theories or to enter into the debatable field of the dates of Irish Romanesque work. Following the lead of our President in his inaugural address, I wish simply to add a little to the record of this kind of work.

The survey was made during a long week-end at Roscrea with the able and enthusiastic assistance of my friend, Mr. Louis F. Giran, to whom I am much indebted.

The church is of the Nave and Chancel type, and though the axis of the latter is at a slight angle to that of the Nave, both would appear to be of the same date. The Nave is 33 feet and 1 inch long by 17 feet 2 inches wide, the east, north and west

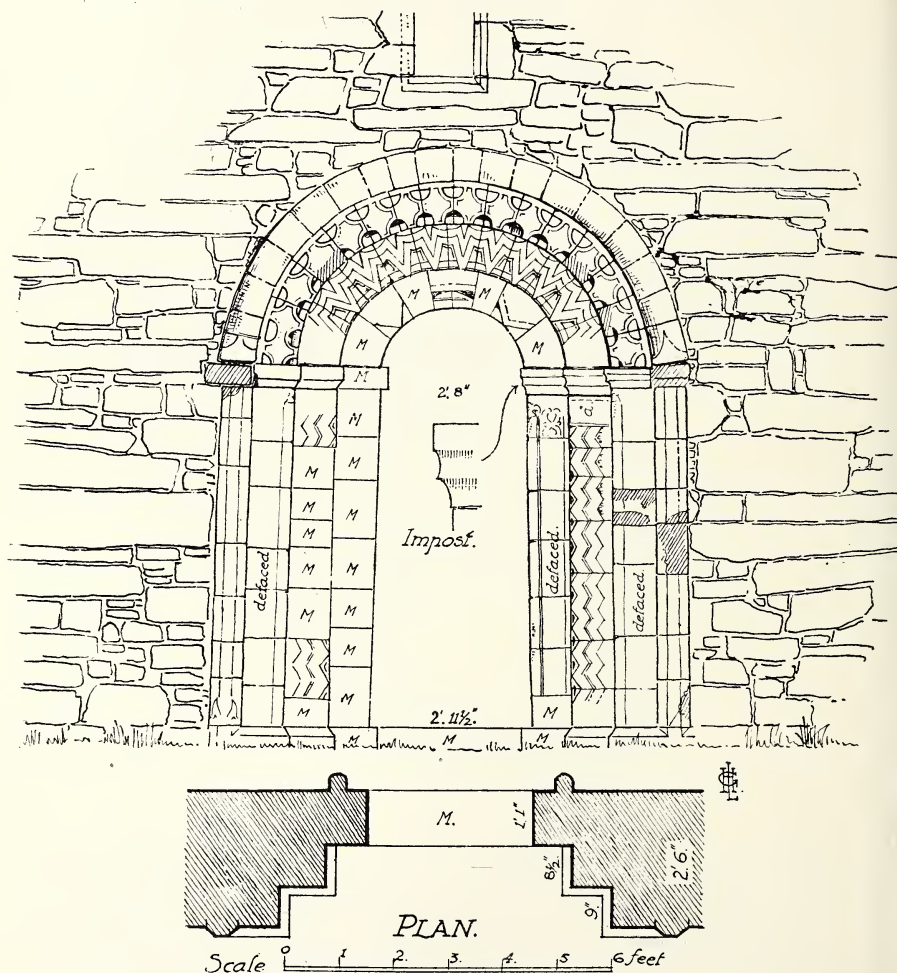


FIG. 2.

walls are 2 feet 6 inches in thickness, and the south wall 2 feet 3 inches, and all are standing to very nearly their full original height. The Chancel measures internally 11 feet 10 inches in length from the west face of the east wall of the Nave, by 8 feet

3 inches in width from north to south. Its north and east walls are 1 foot 11 inches and the south wall 1 foot $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness.

On the north side of the Nave is a later building of two stories, the lower apartment in which, probably, was used as a Sacristy, is 21 feet in length from north to south, and 13 feet 3 inches in width, covered by a rough masonry vault of almost semi-circular section. Of the room over the vault, approached by a flight of steps rising from the door into Nave, only the north gable is standing. This gable contains a small window with stone seats in the window recess. It would appear to have been a dwelling room.

MASONRY.—The walls of Nave and Chancel are built in a fine-grained, red sandstone, which, on the exterior, has weathered to a beautiful warm grey generally and to yellow and grey-green in places. The masonry is of fine quality, there being many stones of considerable length in proportion to their thickness. One in the west gable measures 5 feet 6 inches long by a foot in depth, and another on the south side 7 feet 6 inches long by about 6 inches in average thickness.

The building to the north is of masonry, much inferior in quality of execution and in selection of stones, the still standing north gable being of very poor quality generally.

WEST DOOR.—The first and most arresting piece of detail is the western doorway (Fig. 2). The opening has inclined jambs, being 2 feet $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide at the sill and 2 feet 8 inches under the impost moulding, the total height being 7 feet 8 inches. The arch is semi-elliptical in form, not semi-circular. Much of the north jamb has been repaired (modern stones marked "M") but the south jamb is practically entirely as it originally stood, except for the erosion of time and weather. The archway is in three recessed orders or planes, framed by pilasters, three-sided in section, and a hood mould of round or bolster form. Both these were possibly covered with fine carving (a detail in Ledwich shows portion of an inscription on the pilasters. There are no signs of one, however). There is a suggestion of chevron-like scribings on the pilasters, but they are now so much weather-worn that it is impossible to speak with any certainty of their character. The impost mouldings of the north jamb have a hollow chamfer, and those of the south a double hollow.

The outer arch ring is the most interesting feature, each stone having a carved patera on face and soffit of the form shown, like a square having the angles cut off by quarter circles. The face and soffit paterae meet on the arris, and the corners are here hollowed out, leaving short, undercut, roll moulding on each stone. Each patera contains a rosette or flower pattern; those on the face are nearly all undecipherable, the better protected

soffite showing some half-dozen in good preservation. In some of these the border of the paterae is not continuous, and the flower has a stalk springing, as it were, from the face of the arch below. (See details Fig. 3.)

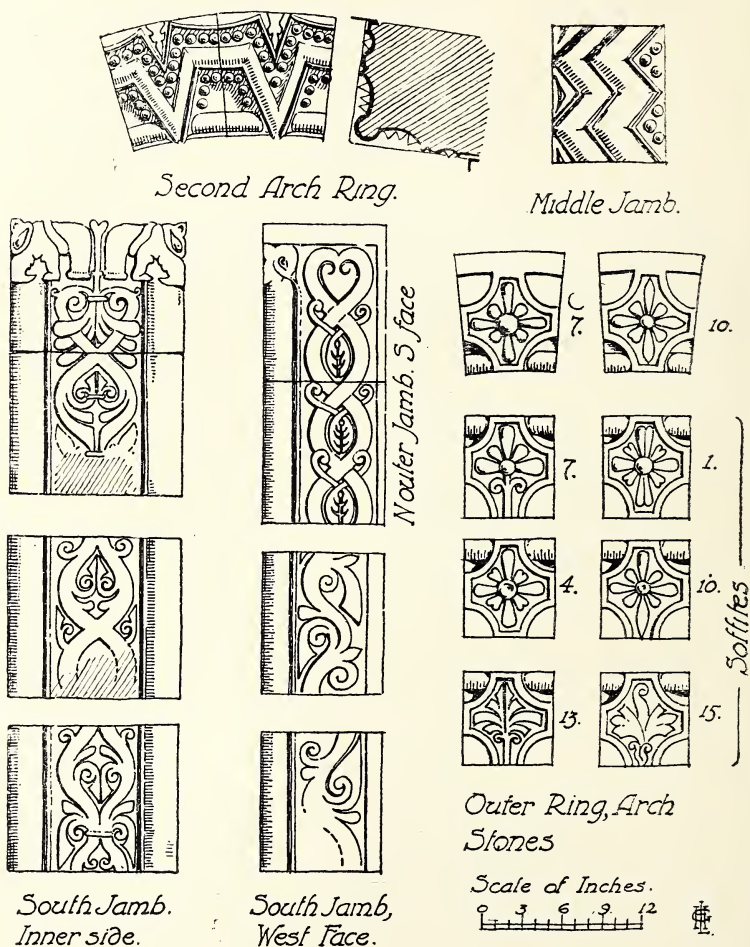


FIG. 3.

The second arch ring has an elaborate chevron and roll moulding, each stone having a complete chevron on face and soffite meeting in a point over the roll on the angle. Unlike the usual chevron arrangement, in which the base of the chevron occupies the whole width of the stone, it is here narrower and

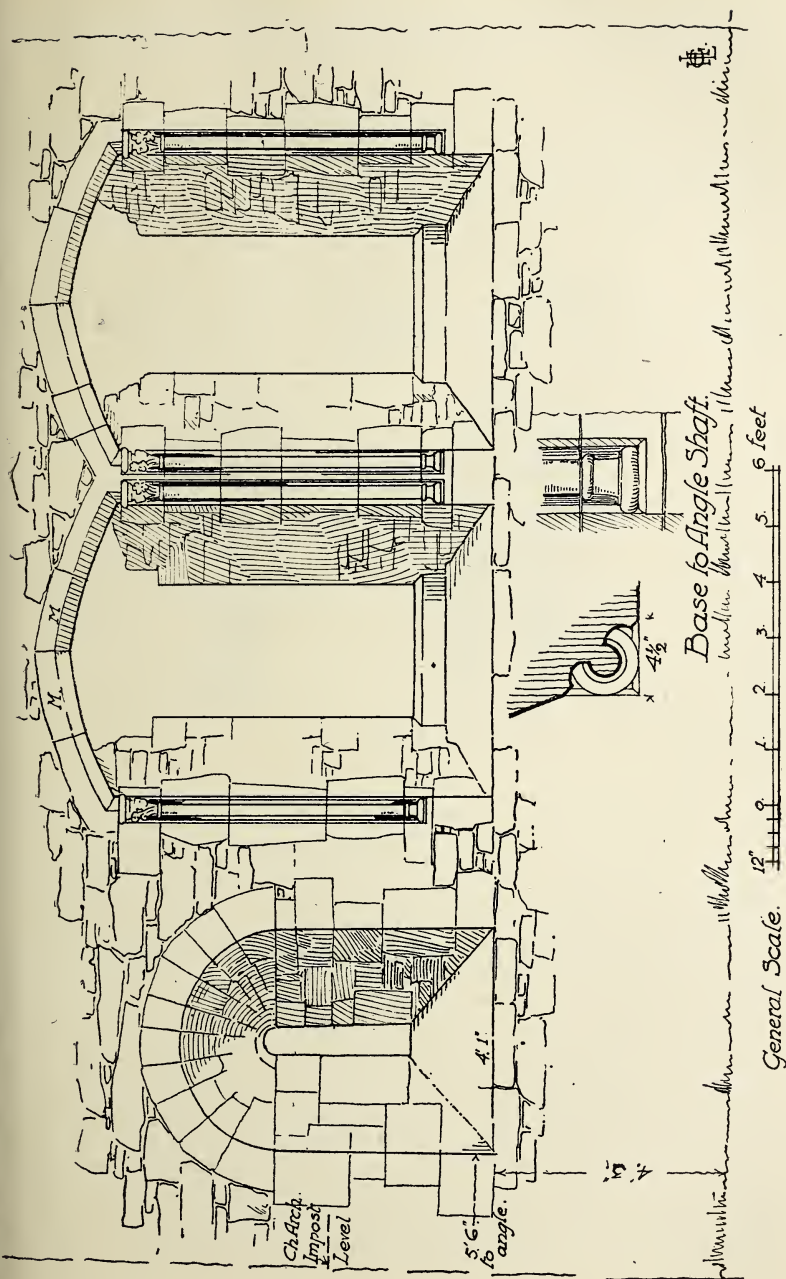
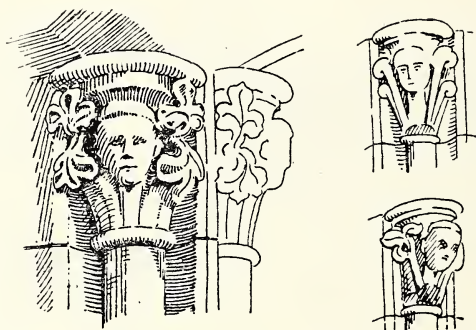


FIG. 4.

the moulding is bent in a short segment form. There are the usual rows of conical pellets, and the space between the chevrons is deeply hollowed.

Of the inner ring only three stones remain, the rest being modern. I think the present arrangement as rebuilt is incorrect, and that originally the stones were arranged with chevrons pointing outwards and downwards alternately.

The jambs in each order are square in plan, the inner and outer having roll mouldings on the angles, finishing in the heads, or rather mouths, of animals, which are worked on the square and seem to grip the rolls. Both of these jambs contained long panels with carved continuous ornament of similar character to the fragments shown, which are the only ones easily decipher-



13th Century Caps.

FIG. 5.

able. The finish of this ornament at the top of the north face of the south jamb, in an inverted palmette pattern, is notable.

The jamb of the middle order has a simple double chevron pattern on both faces, and the top stone on both sides under the impost would appear to have been treated as a sort of frieze carved with interlaced ornament, now difficult to decipher. On the inside of the wall is a projecting architrave of rounded form carried all round the opening.

NAVE DETAILS.—The south wall of the nave (Fig. 4) is interesting, containing one of the original windows, with a very narrow outer opening and a wide internal splay, and beside it two larger inserted windows of approximately 13th century date, with engaged angle shafts and flat-pointed back arches. The external openings are very wide in proportion to their height, and it is not now possible to say if they were originally one or two-light windows. The angle shafts are of delicate detail and the bases of the conventional type known as "water-holding." The caps (Fig. 5) are curious, each having a small head projecting

under the bell, flanked on each side by conventional leaf clusters springing from long stalks. They are much weathered but the drawing gives a fairly correct idea of them.

The original south window has a curious label worked in the solid lintel stone. The west window, over door, appears to be a 15th century insertion in one of the original openings (Fig. 6).

In the north wall is a doorway 2 feet 10 inches wide, and spanned by a pointed arch, leading to the northern building already mentioned.

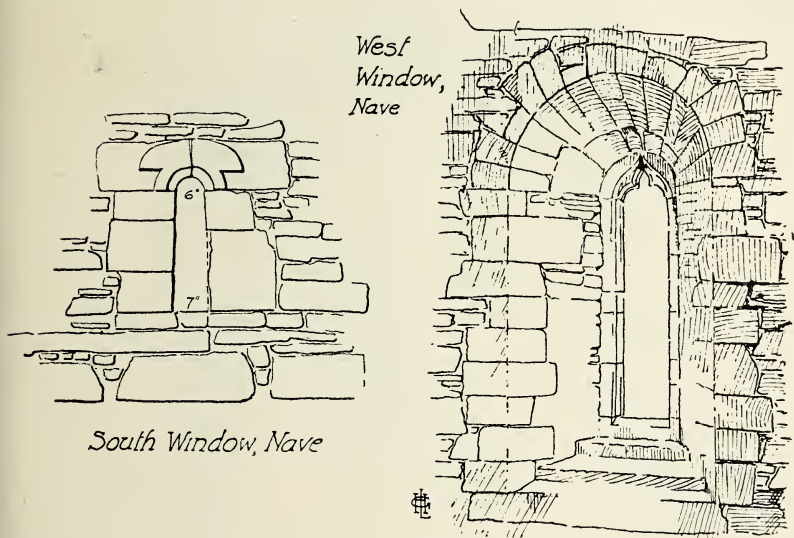


FIG. 6.

CHANCEL ARCH.—The principal feature of the Nave is the Chancel arch (Fig. 7). Like the west door, it is in three orders, but unlike it the jambs are formed of cylindrical and semi-cylindrical pillars. The jambs incline towards one another very slightly, about an inch on each side, the width at the base of the inner shafts being 7 feet 2½ inches and at the top, under the caps 7 feet and half an inch. The height to the soffit of the inner arch is 11 feet 3 inches. It is noteworthy that this arch is not semi-circular in shape but rather semi-elliptical, the span being 6 feet 9 inches and the rise 3 feet and 1 inch. It is a very perfect piece of mason's work admirably set out. (Parenthetically I may state my opinion that many of the recorded semi-circular arches in Irish work would, if measured carefully enough, show similar refinements. We too frequently take an arch to be semi-circular merely because it looks so.) The shafts are plain engaged

cylinders, the inner one being a half column. The bases are, as usual, very plain and skimpy, but the caps are of the Norman scalloped type. The impost mouldings are plain blocks with hollow chamfers.

The arch rings (Fig. 8) show considerable variety in detail; the outer one projects, in architrave fashion, 2 inches from the

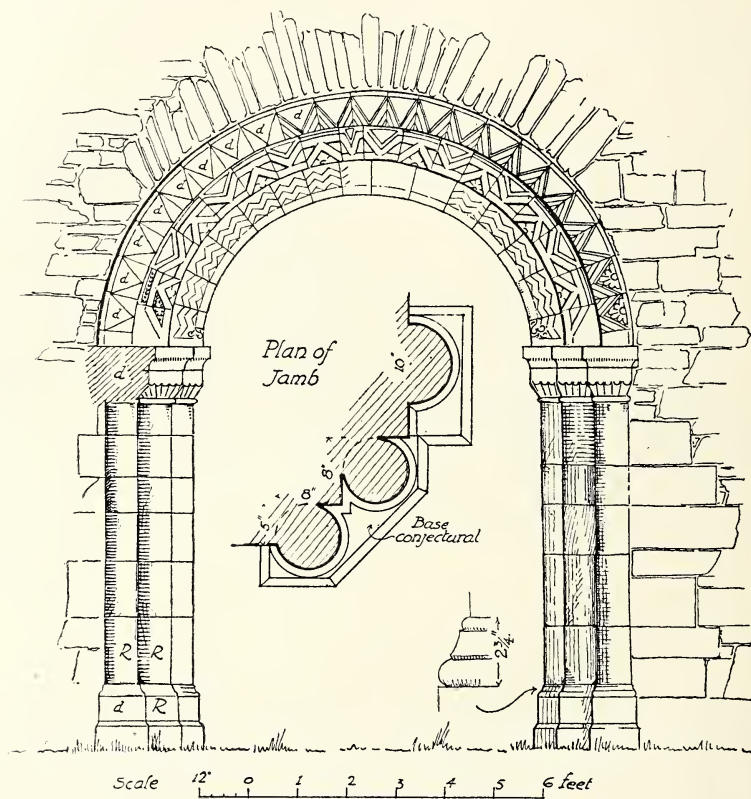
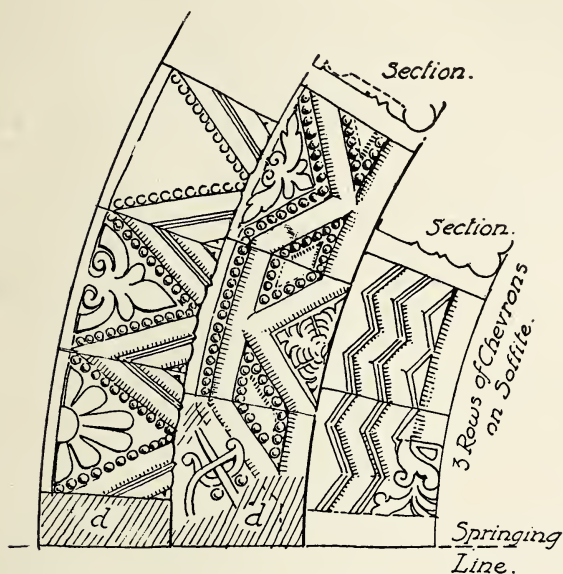


FIG. 7.

face of the wall, each block having a complete chevron on the face and soffit, the chevrons inter-penetrating on the angle—so that the point of the face chevron is on the soffit, and the point of the soffit chevron on the face—the spandrels being bordered by lines of pellets, and decorated with conventional rosettes and floral patterns, all now very much defaced. The second or middle ring has two roll mouldings worked alternately as chevron and roll, as shown on drawing. The trapezoidal spaces left are deeply



Details of Arch Voussoirs.

Scale of Inches. 0 6 12.

FIG. 8.

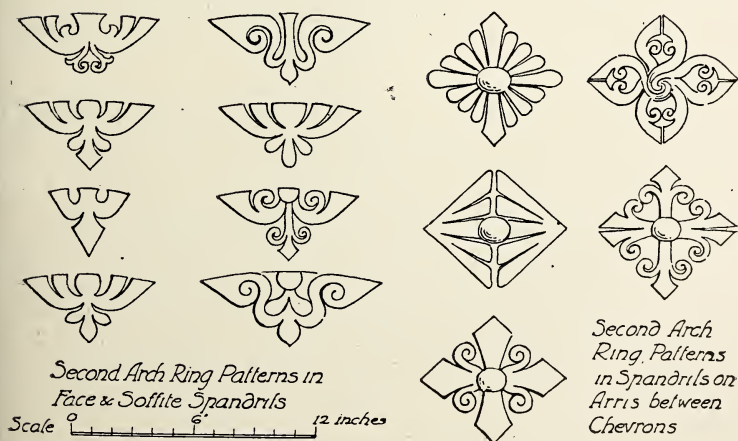


FIG. 9.

hollowed and bordered by rows of pellets, and the angular spaces on face, soffit and angle are filled with a variety of patterns.

The inner ring has a roll moulding on each arris and is decorated with double chevrons in low relief on each face, and a triple band of chevrons on the soffit. The arris rolls finish at the springing in curious little heads of beasts, somewhat similar to those on the jambs of the west door.

The patterns filling the angular spaces in the second arch ring are, as beforesaid, very various, and those which are clear are shown (Fig. 9). Perhaps the most interesting are those in the diamond-shaped panels on the arris, which are, of course, in two planes, but shown developed on to the flat in the drawing. Each

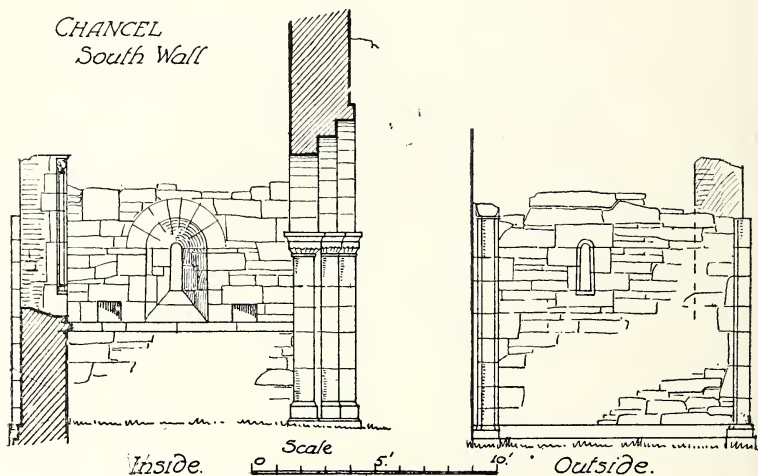


FIG. 10.

has a central boss, some are rosette in form, and one is somewhat like a foliated cross. One has eight sprays or sprigs entwining at the centre in a boss.

The springing stones of this ring are very much defaced, but one still shows a small human figure in very vigorous action.

CHANCEL DETAILS (Fig. 10).—The south wall of the Chancel contains two very small aumbries and an original window, widely splayed internally, and there is a roll moulding string course at sill height internally on this and the east wall but not upon the north wall. The east window is, to judge by the internal jambs, a 13th century insertion quite similar to the inserted windows in the south wall.

Externally the features of interest are the four pilasters of half round section next the Nave, and three quarter round at the

angles: each has small mouldings at the sides which may have been square or round, now very much weathered. The bases are also very much defaced and portion of one capital only exists, of basket shape. There is a double plinth course round the three external sides of the Chancel, and the small south window has an external rebate. The character of the old masonry is well shown in the drawing.

It is somewhere stated, I think by Brash, that the whole of this Chancel arch is an insertion. From the mason's point of view there are no signs of this, but the detail would seem to be rather different to that in the west door—less Irish and more Norman—in particular as regards the jambs and capitals and the chevron design of the second arch ring, which is very bold and of a type which occurs not uncommonly in England. The small enrichments, however, have quite the character of Irish work.

It is not impossible that it may be an insertion of not very much later date than the rest of the work, but the question is not one easily to be settled, nor is it, I think, of very great import.

There is one other interesting fragment on the site, a small wheel type cross, much weather worn, with a full length, skirted figure of Our Lord and a loose cap stone of semi-spherical shape.

There are traces of interlaced ornament on the sides of the shaft and the whole is set in a heavy base stone.

In Ledwich's map more extensive remains on two islands are shown. At the time of my visit I was unaware of this map and therefore did not extend my investigation beyond the immediate neighbourhood of the ruins here described. From later information I also gathered that further search in the neighbourhood might reveal the existence of some other fragments stated to have been removed from the site in past years.

NOTES ON THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, TRADITIONALLY SAID TO HAVE BELONGED TO THE IRISH HOUSE OF COMMONS, PRESENTED TO THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND, BY LORD RAGLAN IN MARCH, 1919.

By W. G. STRICKLAND, *Fellow*.

[Read 29 APRIL, 1919.]

THE following notes are, firstly, on the Book itself; and, secondly, as to the tradition of its having belonged to, or been used by, the Irish House of Commons.

In 1721 George Grierson, the Dublin printer and publisher, brought out an edition of the Book of Common Prayer the finest which had yet been printed in Dublin. In this was an elaborately designed frontispiece engraved by the Dublin engraver, James Gwim. Subsequently, in 1750, Grierson published another, and similar, edition in which Gwim's frontispiece was again used. This is the edition which has been presented to the Society by Lord Raglan, late Governor of the Isle of Man.

The two editions of 1721 and 1750, both folios, show some variation in their contents and arrangement which it is unnecessary to go into. It may be noted, however, that in the 1750 edition there is added "a New Version of the Psalms of David fitted to the Tunes used in Churches." This additional matter is dated 1751. The Library of Trinity College possesses the earlier edition, but not that of 1750. Copies of the latter are in the Library at Armagh, St. Columba's College and the University Club.

With regard to the engraved frontispiece in the two editions bearing the signature of a Dublin Artist, James Gwim, as engraver, the question presents itself whether the design is original, or whether it is a copy of a frontispiece already used elsewhere. The Dublin publishers were unblushing in their appropriation of the work of English book-illustrators, frequently adorning their books with unacknowledged copies of the illustrations in English editions, and in Grierson's two folio editions of the Book of Common Prayer we have an example of this practice. The frontispiece, engraved by Gwim, is an almost exact copy of that

prefixed to the Book of Common Prayer printed in London by Charles Bill, Henry Hills and Thomas Newcomb in 1687, which was engraved by David Loggan from a design by John Baptist Caspers—" *Ianbatista Caspers inven,—D. Loggan Sculp.*"

Lord Raglan, in his letter conveying his offer to present the Book, says that according to his grandmother, Lady Raglan, who owned it and died in 1881, aged 87, the Prayer Book was the one used in the Irish House of Commons.

On the fly leaf is written:—" *Presented to Llandenny Church by the Honble. Charlotte and the Honble. Katherine Somerset, 1881.*"

There is also another and earlier, though undated, inscription:—" *Sackvill Brereton to her Honour'd God Mother the Honourable Lady Sarah Pole.*"

From these two inscriptions the history of the book can be traced, and some light thrown upon the question as to whether it was used in the House of Commons.

According to the older of the two inscriptions the Book belonged to Sackvill Brereton who gave it to her God Mother, Lady Sarah Pole. This Sackvill was daughter of Edward Brereton of Springmount, Queen's County, who was Sergeant-at-Arms to the Irish House of Commons. He was appointed to that office by Patent, dated 8 May, 1742, and resigned it in 1756. He was also Master of the Horse to the Lord Lieutenant. He died at Springmount in January, 1775, aged 81, leaving a widow¹ and two daughters Sackvill and Martha. He bequeathed to his eldest daughter Sackvill—so named probably after Lord George Sackville who appears to have been a friend of Brereton and was one of the trustees of his will—his Springmount estate and the contents of the house, so that presumably in this way Sackvill became possessed of the Prayer Book. There is nothing in the Book itself to indicate its having belonged to the House of Commons. The Prayer Book of the House of Lords was very elaborately bound; the binding of this book is quite plain, the same as that of the copy of the earlier edition in Trinity College, except that in the latter the oblong panel on the side is filled with gilt tooled ornament. It seems probable therefore that the fact of its having belonged to the Sergeant-at-Arms—or at all events to his daughter—gave rise to the tradition of the Book having been the one used in the House of Commons.

¹ Frances, daughter of Philip Rawson, died 1785. She was Brereton's second wife; his first wife died at Bath in 1754, and he married his second wife in the same year.

Sackvillia Brereton became, in 1783, the wife of Sir John Allen Johnson Walsh, Bart., of Ballykilcavan, Queen's County. The Lady Sarah Pole, to whom Sackvillia gave the book, was Lady Sarah Moore, daughter of Edward, 5th Earl of Drogheda. She married William Pole of Ballyfin, Queen's County, one of the trustees of Edward Brereton's will, and died in 1780 without children.

The next recorded owner of the Book is Lady Raglan, wife of Field Marshal Lord Raglan. She was Emily Harriet, daughter of William, Lord Maryborough, who succeeded his brother Richard, Marquess Wellesley, as 3rd Earl of Mornington in 1842. He had in 1781, before he was created Lord Maryborough, been left the Ballyfin estate by William Pole, the husband of the before-mentioned Lady Sarah Pole, and from him the book passed into the possession of his daughter, Emily Harriet, Lady Raglan. On her death in 1881 the book became the property of her daughters the Hon. Charlotte and Hon. Katherine Somerset who gave it to Llandenny Church. Finding that it was suffering from neglect and damp the present Lord Raglan obtained possession of it, presenting a modern Prayer Book in its stead, and gave it to the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.

FAITHFUL TEATE.

By ST. JOHN D. SEYMOUR, B.D.

DURING the 17th century there were in Ireland two men bearing the above name, father and son, both Divines. This is abundantly clear from the wills and the Irish Commonwealth records. Yet nearly all modern writers have treated " Faithful Teate " as if there were only one person so called, with the result that they have given composite biographies which are consequently full of inaccuracies. A striking example may be found in the article on Nahum Tate in the Dictionary of National Biography. It is the object of the present paper to distinguish between the two men, and to give a brief account of the career of each; in this work of selection we are greatly assisted by the fact that the elder man held the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and is nearly always so styled, while the younger proceeded no further than his M.A.

Faithful Teate, the elder, entered Trinity College, Dublin, and took his M.A. Degree in 1624. He subsequently proceeded to D.D., but of this there appears to be no record in the College registers. He was ordained Deacon in 1619, and Priest in 1621, by the Bishop of Ferns, and held various preferments. In that fateful year 1641 we find him Vicar of Ballyhaise in Co. Cavan. He says himself in his deposition (sworn March 20th, 1641(2), that about the 23rd of October, " fearing of a rebellion and seeing them begin to arise," he had put a large sum of money in his pocket, and set out for Dublin, partly with the intention of saving himself, and partly to give information to the Government of what was about to occur. He travelled in the company of Mr. Aldrich, High Sheriff of Co. Monaghan, and the latter's nephew, but on the journey between Virginia and Lough Ramor he was attacked by a gang of ruffians, ill-used, knocked down, and robbed of all his money. That Teate very nearly anticipated Owen O'Connolly, and that he arrived in Dublin at or before the commencement of the outbreak, is proved by the postscripts to a letter written by the Lords Justices and Council on October the 25th, in which it was stated that " as we were making up these our letters, the Sheriff of the County of Monaghan and Doctor Teate being fled came unto us and informed us of much spoil committed by the rebels in the Counties of Monaghan and Cavan." During Teate's absence his residence was attacked, his goods plundered, and his library destroyed: in all, his losses amounted to £3,930. His wife and children succeeded in reaching Dublin, though they suffered extremely both from ill-usage as well as from the in-

clemency of the weather, there being snow on the ground. The curious story is told of his wife finding a bottle of milk on the snow, by means of which the life of her infant was preserved. Two of his children died as a result of their terrible experiences.¹

Some incidental points may here be noticed. On the 10th of December, Dr. Teate was directed to distribute £100 for the relief of the poor English lately robbed by the rebels in the north. On May 14th, 1642, he preached a funeral sermon in Christ Church Cathedral on Sir Charles Coote, the elder; this was not published until 1658, under the title "The Soldier's Commission, Charge and Reward." It would also appear from a passage in the dedication of his book "Nathaniel," that during the years of his stay in Dublin he had officiated as minister in one of the city churches, being supported there by the voluntary contributions of his congregation.²

But it is in connection with the Provostship of T.C.D. that Teate comes most prominently into notice at this period. The Provost, Richard Wassington, had fled to England at the outbreak of the rebellion, upon which the Lords Justices and Council appointed Dr. Teate and Dr. Dudley Loftus as "temporarii subrectores" until the Crown should nominate a new Provost. But the entire responsibility seems to have fallen upon Teate's shoulders. The incident has been fully treated elsewhere, and can only be touched on here. The Fellows and Scholars petitioned against the continuance of Teate as Provost (though they did not name him expressly) on the grounds that all collegiate discipline had failed. He was summoned before the Lords Justices and Council to answer those charges on the 14th of June, 1642, and on the 25th of the following April that Body, acting on letters from the King, ordered him to "surcease any further direction or abode in the College," because in many ways he had manifested himself to be ill-affected towards "the present established government under His Majesty's subjection." Thus two distinct charges, of inefficiency, and of wrong politics, were brought against him: and both may have been true. That he was one of the Low Church party in Ireland, who were Puritan in doctrine and supporters of the Commonwealth as against the Crown, is made sufficiently clear by the fact that he subsequently accepted office as a State-paid "minister of the Gospel," both in England and Ireland, as many another Irish clergyman did. That he was learned, pious and earnest may be presumed, but these excellent qualities do not necessarily fit a man to have oversight of a community of young men. It is to be noticed that the Fellows and

¹ Leslie, *Armagh Clergy and Parishes*, p. 238; *Ormonde MSS.* (Hist. MSS. Comm.) New Series, vol. ii, p. 6; *Cavan Depositions* (T. C. D. Library), vol. i, f. 78; vol. ii, f. 61.

² *S. P. I.* (Charles I), vol. ii, p. 768; Harris's *Ware*, vol. ii, p. 160.

Scholars said nothing about his religious or political views; indeed they may well have been in accordance with him on these points, for several of the men who signed the petition against him subsequently acted as "ministers of the Gospel" in Ireland under Fleetwood and Henry Cromwell.³

After this there is a gap of a few years, which at present cannot be filled. Dr. Teate re-appears in 1649 as minister of the Cathedral of New Sarum, to which place he may indeed have come at an earlier date. During his stay in Salisbury he occupied one of the canons' residences. As the Dean and Chapter had been suppressed a considerable amount of work fell upon his shoulders, for it is said of him that "he supplieth the ministerial office formerly supplied by the Dean and Prebendaries; he preacheth twice every Lord's Day." On October 2nd, 1650, the Commissioners for Plundered Ministers granted to the town of Sarum an augmentation of £400 for four ministers. Out of this sum Teate got £125; he also had £23 out of the impropriate rectory of Figheldean, and £16 from the rectory of Wanborough, besides other revenue.⁴

Shortly after this he removed as minister to East Greenwich, at the unanimous request of the people there. In April, 1653, and in November, 1655, he signed certificates of good character for persons who were seeking positions under the government. While here he published the second of his two recorded writings, entitled, "Nathaniel, or an Israelite indeed. . . by Faithful Teate, D.D., Preacher of the Gospel in East Greenwich (London, 1657)," which was dedicated, not merely to his present flock, but to his many friends and former "auditors" in Dublin. The book consists of a treatise in two parts, the contents of which had formerly been published in divers sermons to his parishioners at East Greenwich.⁵

But he was destined to make a further remove, this time to his native land, in which during his absence a radical change in the ecclesiastical system had been brought about. With the rise of the Commonwealth party to power, Episcopacy had been declared illegal, and the place of the Irish Church had been taken by a State-paid body of men who were officially designated "ministers of the Gospel," but who included in their number many of the former beneficed Episcopalian clergy. Needless to say this body was Puritan in doctrine and Parliamentary in politics. Thus Dr. Teate could have had no ground for any scruples in accepting the call to return as a minister to Ireland. It appears

³ Stubbs, *History of University of Dublin*, pp. 84, 411-413; Mahaffy, *An Epoch in Irish History*, pp. 277-279.

⁴ W. A. Shaw, *History of English Church*, vol. ii. p. 546; W. H. Jones, *Diocese of Salisbury*, pp. 215-217.

⁵ S. P. Domestic (Commonwealth), vol. v, p. 557; *ibid.*, vol. ix, p. 413; *Nathaniel, or an Israelite indeed* (London, 1657).

too, that he was specially invited thither by Henry Cromwell, who took a keen practical interest in all that appertained to ecclesiastical matters, and was very desirous of bringing the best men into the country as preachers. Dr. Teate accordingly returned to Ireland about May, 1658 (as he then applied for £50 advance money), and on his arrival was directed to preach at Drogheda as from the 25th of the preceding March, at a salary of £200 per annum, the place being rendered vacant by the departure into England of the then minister, Michael Briscoe. Shortly after Teate was given an assistant, John Hook.⁶

In his will he mentions the following members of his family:—His wife, Mary; his eldest son, Faithful (whom he terms “clearke”); his second son, Joseph, and his youngest, Theophilus; his daughters, Mary (then married to Thomas Parsons of London), and Agnes (then under 18). In addition there were two other children who had died in 1641. This will was made in 1659, but the date of Teate’s death can be determined within a month by the following two extracts. A memorandum to his will states that on or about the 14th April, 1660, he made a codicil, “being weak of body but sound of mind”; while on the 12th of the following May, it was ordered that money due to the late Dr. Teate should be paid to Mary and Faithful, evidently his widow and son.⁷

We must now follow the fortunes of Faithful Teate the younger, eldest son to the above, and father to Nahum Tate, the poet-laureate. He must have come up from Ballyhaise with his mother and the rest of the family, for, according to the Matriculation Book, he entered T.C.D. on November 4th, 1641, aged fourteen. As the letters M.A. occur after his name on the title-page of one of his books, it is to be presumed that he took that Degree in the same University, though of this there appears to be no record. As he is referred to as “clerk” and “presbyter,” it is plain that he took orders of some kind. That these were Episcopal is unlikely, for it would have been well-nigh impossible for him to have obtained them at the time when he would have been old enough to receive them, *i.e.*, 1650. It is probable that he received his ordination from the Independents, a body that held a strong and popular position in Ireland under the Commonwealth.

Be that as it may, he is first met with as “minister” at Sudbury in Suffolk. He was located there in 1651, for in that year the Ministers’ Trustees had granted him an augmentation of £100 a year for the churches of St. Peter’s and St. Gregory’s, Sudbury, being £50 for each church. This had been subsequently

⁶ Thurloe’s *State Papers*, vol. vi, p. 552; vol. vii, pp. 144, 177; *Commonwealth Books* (Irish P. R. O.), A/22, f. 30; A/91, ff. 37, 45.

⁷ Wills in *Dublin Consistorial Collection* (Irish P. R. O.); *Commonwealth Books*, A/25, ff. 223, 226.

reduced to £60, but was again raised to the former sum in November, 1655, on account of his diligence in the ministry. In the following January, he petitioned for £54 a year allowed him out of Acton rectory (three miles from Sudbury) which had been sequestrated from Mr. Daniel, two-thirds of which sum had been paid, and one-third stopped in the Exchequer. In June, 1653, he was licenced to preach every Friday at Rattlesden in turn with other ministers. During his stay at Sudbury he purchased an orchard which is mentioned in his will.⁸

Teate was a voluminous author, and as three of his books were certainly written during the period of his ministry at Sudbury, it will not be out of place to consider them briefly here.

The first of these is entitled "A Scripture-Map of the Wilderness of Sin and Way to Canaan. . . ." by Faithful Teate, M.A. (London, 1655). It is the sum of sixty-four lecture sermons preached at Sudbury. Bound up with it, though with separate title-page, is a poem "Epithalamium, or a Love Song of the Learning Soul." In the introduction to this he speaks of his "youth and preponderating affection to verse."

The next is a very small volume, "The Character of Cruelty in the Workers of Iniquity" (London, 1656), which is dedicated to Oliver Cromwell, and was occasioned by the persecutions in Piedmont. In this there is a second sermon, "The Cure of Contention among the People of God," dated 1655. That this book must be attributed to the younger Teate is clear from an advertisement at the end, which says: "There is extant by the same author, 'A Scripture-Map,' " &c., the book alluded to above.

But the best known of his works, and the one that is of most interest on account of the literary achievements of his son, is his volume of poetry entitled "Ter Tria: or the Doctrine of the Three Sacred Persons. . . ." by Faithful Teate, Preacher at Sudbury (London, 1658). This work is dedicated to Henry Cromwell, and consists of separate verses on the Trinity, and on other subjects mentioned in the title. The book shews in a decided manner the influence of George Herbert, and indeed, in another of his works he speaks in the highest possible terms of that poet.

Like his father, the younger Teate returned to Ireland, and took service there as a State-paid minister. He was directed to preach at Limerick from the 25th of March, 1659, at a yearly salary of £200, in succession to Claudius Gilbert. Whether he ever went to that city is not known, but in May, 1660, he was directed to continue his preaching in Dublin; he was located at St. Werburgh's, and the last reference to him in the Commonwealth Books is to the effect that he was to get arrears of salary

⁸ *S. P. Domestic* (Commonwealth), vol. ix, pp. 43, 149; Hodson's *History of the Borough of Sudbury*, pp. 119-120.

due on the 5th of February, 1661 (N.S.). On the 20th of the following June he was ordered to appear before the House of Lords to answer charges of having preached in Dublin contrary to the Declaration of Parliament. The trend of events is pretty obvious. In the previous May a Declaration had been accepted by the two Houses requiring all persons to conform to Church government by Episcopacy, and to the use of the Liturgy. It is evident that Teate could not conscientiously accede to this, and so was in consequence suspended from exercising ecclesiastical functions, like so many other "ministers of the gospel" in the country.⁹

It would seem that Teate's other three books fall within the period which commenced with his return to Ireland. The first of these is entitled "The Uncharitable Informer charitably informed that Sycophancy is a Sin." The work is a prose treatise against slandering tongues, informers, and tale-bearers. It was evidently intended to be an answer to some traducers now unknown. Had it been written a little later it would plainly have been aimed at the person who had informed against him for preaching, but the date forbids this, as the work was completed as early as December, 1659, and published in Dublin in the following year.

Another book was entitled "Right Thoughts the Righteous Man's Evidence." This was not published, however, till 1669. That this must be referred to the younger Teate as author may be inferred from the following:—(1) He alludes to George Herbert in terms of the highest praise, and we have already shown that the "Ter Tria" was influenced by that poet; (2) he mentions his "old neighbours at Colchester, where the plague," &c., while we find a similar allusion to the plague in that town in the epistle dedicatory, and on p. 15, of the "Scripture-Map." His last book was an octavo volume, entitled "Meditations" (Dublin, 1672); this is mentioned by Ware, but there does not appear to be an extant copy.

He made his will on the 12th of July, 1664, in which he styles himself "of Dublin, clearke," and states that he was then "in perfect health, but intending speedily a journey into England." In it he mentions his wife, Katherine; his sons in the order of their age, Faithful, Nahum, Joseph, and Theophilus; his daughters in similar order, Mary, Fidelia, and Ann. At this time all his sons were under 21, and his daughters under 18. Two allusions to Sudbury are found. He made a second will on the 29th of the following September, in which he describes himself as "late of Dublin, now of Holyhead, and intending a voyage into Ireland." It would appear that he was dead before the 22nd of December, 1666. What appears to be a third will of his, dated 1680, is in

⁹ *Commonwealth Books* (Irish P. R. O.) A/22, f. 12 (a); A/25, ff. 228, 338, 386; *Journal of Irish House of Lords*, vol. i, pp. 234, 236, 251.

reality only the above document, which had to be re-copied at the later date, as some goods then remained unadministered.¹⁰

Thus it is plain that there were two Faithful Teates, contemporaries, and father and son. The former was a Doctor of Divinity, and in orders of the Irish Church. The latter proceeded no further than M.A., had apparently non-Episcopal Orders, and was the father of Nahum Tate. It appears from the Matriculation Book that the future poet-laureate, together with his elder brother, Faithful (a third to bear the name) entered T.C.D. in the summer of 1668, aged respectively 16 and 17; both had been born in Dublin.

¹⁰ Will in *Dublin Consistorial Collection*. On the authority of Calamy it is said that Teate was ejected from Winchester Cathedral in 1660. This is obviously an error.

THE LATER XIX. CENTURY FARTHING TOKENS OF IRELAND.

By HENRY C. DRURY, M.D., *Member.*

[Read 29th APRIL, 1919.]

THERE has not been a catalogue of the later 19th Century Farthing Tokens of Ireland published, since that of Dr. Aquilla Smith which he compiled over fifty years ago.

Since that time several new pieces and numerous die varieties have been found.

It is necessary, then, that these should be recorded, and an attempt is here made to include all those known, and their varieties of dies, in such a manner, that each individual specimen can be recognised, without the necessity of comparing it with another.

This list has been compiled from that of Dr. Aquilla Smith, and various MSS. lists in the possession of collectors; also by comparison of the pieces in the collection of The Royal Irish Academy, and in private collections. Full descriptions of all the varieties are given from actual specimens, except Nos. 62 and 70, which are described from "rubblings."

In some cases it is difficult to decide which side should be looked on as the obverse. That side bearing the issuer's name, would be considered by him the most important, even though he had placed upon the other, his Sovereign's bust, or other device. This consideration has been adopted as the rule in the following list, even though it varies from the practice of others, who have considered the side bearing the bust of Queen Victoria, as the obverse in all cases—*cf.* Nos. 106 and 111.

The following pieces:—Macartney, 6 Donegal Place, Belfast; Robertson, Bros., Corn Market, Belfast; Austins, 39 Westmoreland Street, Dublin; Henry & James, 82 Dame Street, Dublin; Gregory Kane, 69 Dame Street, Dublin; J. Large, 26 Lincoln Place, Dublin; Matthew, 38 Upper Sackville Street, Dublin; J. Mooney, 142 Lower Baggot Street, Dublin; and T. Smith, 21 Eden Quay, Dublin; are not included, as on the authority of Mr. Lionel Fletcher, they must be considered as "trade tickets" or "checks," and not as tokens.

In some cases dates of issue have been added in brackets. Those indicated by * are on the authority of the Rev. B. W.

Adams, D.D., M.R.I.A., from a paper published by him in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Suppl. to N.S. xvii., pp. 157-162. In a letter dated 22/6/1876 from Santry Rectory, to John Evans, he says: "The information has, nearly in every instance, been obtained direct from the issuers or their family." Those marked * * are on the authority of the Belfast Museum Catalogue. The addresses of the business houses are given where known, many being taken from articles which appeared anonymously, in *The Bazaar, Exchange & Mart* of 1886.

I have to acknowledge much help given to me by Mr. Lionel Fletcher, who most kindly sent me many pieces from his own collection for my inspection, and has also supervised this list.

H. C. DRURY,
January, 1919.

ARMAGH. (Co. ARMAGH).

1. O: JAS^s ARMSTRONG & CO | IRONMONGERS | —&— | GROCERS | 'ARMAGH'
(lines 1, 2, 4, 5 curved)
R: W^m ARMSTRONG & SON | SILK | MERCERS | HABERDASHERS | —&C.— | LURGAN
(1850)* (lines 1, 4, 6 curved)
2. O: 'TEA WINE & SPIRIT' MERCHANT=R^t McCULLA | ARMAGH (line 1 curved)
R: PAYABLE AT THE SIGN OF THE CLOCK MARKET S^t=ONE FARTHING
(within a circle). (line 2 curved).
The issuer was in business here in 1856.

ATHLONE. (Co. ROSCOMMON).

3. O: BURGESS & CO DRAPERS & MERCERS.=CHURCH S^t | ATHLONE | & MAIN S^t |
MOATE.
R: CHURCH S^t | ATHLONE | MAIN S^t | MOATE | & | WILLIAM S^t | TULLAMORE
(lines 1, 6, 7 curved)
*Thomas Burgess and Co. (1839)**
4. O: P. MAXWELL | GROCER | & IRONMONGER | * CHURCH S^t * | ATHLONE
(lines 1, 5 curved)
R: VICTORIA REGINA=Head of Queen Victoria.

BALLYMACARRETT. (Co. DOWN).

5. O: JAMES JONES BALLYMACARRETT=Head of Queen Victoria.
R: THE BALLYMACARRETT GROCERY & HABERDASHERY * = ESTABLISHMENT
(curved). Below, a balance.
E: Milled.
His address was 111 and 113 Bridge-end, and was there as late as 1870.

BALLYMENA. (Co. ANTRIM).

6. O: GREENE & SINCLAIR * BALLYMENA * = A hat.
R: WOOLLEN DRAPERS, HABERDASHERS &c. = BOOTS & SHOES
*Issuers were in Mill Street in 1852** (1845)**

BARRACKTON. (Co. CORK).

7. O: JOHN M^CCARTHY | GROCER | AND SPIRIT | DEALER | N^o 1 BARRACKTON
(lines 1 & 5 curved 3 & 4 not parallel)

R: THE CHINA MAN=A china man holding a branch in his left hand.
Barrackton was a suburb of Cork City.

BELFAST. (Co. ANTRIM).

8. O: JOHN ARNOTT & C^o | SILK | MERCERS | DRAPERS | &C. (line 1, curved)
R: PAYABLE IN BELFAST & CORK . * . =ONE | FARTHING
*Issuers commenced business in No. 26 High St. about Jany. 1840 when the token was probably struck ***
See also No 43.
9. O: JOHN ARNOTT & C^o | SILK | MERCERS | HABERDASHERS | &C. (line 1, curved)
R: PAYABLE AT N^o 5. 7 & 9 BRIDGE ST BELFAST. = ONE | FARTHING
*Issuers moved into Bridge St. in 1841. ***
10. O: JOHN ARNOTT & C^o | SILK | MERCERS | HABERDASHERS | &C. (line 1, curved)
R: PAYABLE AT N^o *. 7 & 9. BRIDGE ST BELFAST. = ONE | FARTHING.
This would appear to have been struck from an altered die.
- 10A. O: As No. 10.
R: Similar to No. 10, but with a period after ' & ' but not after '9.'
11. O: JOHN ARNOTT & C^o | SILK | MERCERS | DRAPERS | &C. (line 1 curved)
R: PAYABLE IN BELFAST & CORK * = Head of Queen Victoria.
12. O: FERRAR & COMPY | SILK | MERCERS | HABERDASHERS | &C. (lines 1 & 4 curved)
R: PAYABLE AT DONEGALL PLACE=ONE | FARTHING
13. O: FERRAR & TAGGART | SILK | MERCERS | HABERDASHERS | &C.
(lines 1 & 4 curved)
R: As No. 12.
14. O: 'W^M FOSTER' | LINEN | DRAPER | & HABERDASHER (lines 1 & 4 curved)
R: 'W^M FOSTER' | LINEN | DRAPER | & HABERDASHER (lines 1 & 4 curved)
*Issuer was in 13 James St. Belfast in 1835 ***
15. O: WILLIAM GILMORE | * | TEA DEALER | GROCER FRUIT | WINE & SPIRIT |
* MERCHANT * | 14 | HIGH ST. | BELFAST (1st & two last lines curved)
R: VICTORIA QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN=Head of Queen Victoria.
(1853)*
16. O: B. HUGHES BELFAST=ONE | 'FARTHING' | (line 2 curved)
R: 'RAILWAY' BAKERY=A sheaf of wheat.
Issued by Bernard Hughes, 71 Donegal Street. (1847 or 1848) The bakery was also known as Donegal Street Bakery and was adjacent to the Railway Station.*
17. O: Similar to No. 16, but the dots are further from the beaded circle; in the last they are touching the circle.
R: Similar but a different wheatsheaf.
18. O: 'B. M^C GLADE' WHOLESALE & FAMILY GROCER = —97— | YORK ST |
BELFAST | — * —
R: B M^C GLADE WINE & SPIRIT MERCHANT=ONE | FARTHING (within a circle)
(1848)*
19. O: B. M^C GLADE | 34 EDWARD ST | BELFAST. (lines 1 & 3 curved)
R: B. M^C GLADE | WINE & SPIRIT | MERCHANT. (lines 1 & 3 curved)

20. O: CHAS. M'GLADE | 34 | EDWARD ST. | & | 71 SMITHFIELD | · BELFAST · |
 (lines 1, 5, 6 curved)

The dot is under the space between 7 and 1. The top of 'E' of "Edward" lines with the first limb of 'H.'

- R: CHAS. M'GLADE | WHOLESALE | — · — | & RETAIL | * WINE & SPIRIT * |
 DEALER | GROCER &C. (lines 1, 2, 6, & 7, curved)

He was in business at this address in 1856.

21. O: Similar to No 20, but "EDWARD ST." higher, the top of 'E' lines with the middle of 'H,' and the dot is directly under the '7.' The '3' of '34' is square topped whereas in No 20 it is round topped.

R: As No. 20.

22. O: C & P. M'GLADE | 34. EDWARD ST. | & | 71. SMITHFIELD | BELFAST
 (lines 1, 2, 4, 5, curved)

- R: C & P. M'GLADE | WHOLESALE | WINE & SPIRIT DEALERS | GROCERS &C. |
 BELFAST (lines 1, 2, 5 curved, 3 double curved)

23. O: C & P. M'GLADE | GROCERS, | WINE & SPIRIT | DEALERS | BELFAST
 (lines 1, 2, 3 & 5 curved)

- R: PAYABLE AT 34 EDWARD ST. & 71 SMITHFIELD=ONE | FARTHING
 (line 2 curved)

24. O: Similar to No. 23, but there is a line under the 'c' of "MC" instead of a dot, and no comma after "GROCERS." The lettering of the name and of "BELFAST" is smaller, and that of "WINE & SPIRIT" larger. The letters have no ceriph.

- R: Similar to No. 23, but there is a period before "PAYABLE" and after "ST." The letters of "ONE FARTHING" have no ceriph.

25. O: Similar to No. 24, but the 'G' of "GROCERS" is under 'c' and over the last limb of 'N' whereas in No 24 it is over the 'E' of "WINE."

R: Same as No. 24.

26. O: .MCKENZIE BRO^S. BELFAST=MAY ST

- R: .BRASS FOUNDERS. | PATENT | AXLE | MAKERS | & | GAS FITTERS
 (lines 1 & 6 curved)

The ' & ' is over the space between 'I' & 'T.' (1852)*

Malcolm McKenzie was originally at 25 May Street. May Street, Brass Foundry, 55 May Street.

27. O: As No. 26.

- R: Similar to No. 26, but the ' & ' is over the first 'T.'

28. O: ·MACKENZIE & MCMULLEN· SILKS & SHAWLS=SCOTCH | HOUSE

- R: ·CHEAP DRAPERY· WAREHOUSE· 36· HIGH· ST=Shamrock Rose & Thistle.

29. O: Similar to No. 28, but the 'c' of "MCMULLEN" is smaller and has a dot instead of a line below it.

- R: Similar to No. 28, but without the full-stop after "HIGH."

30. O: Similar to No. 29, but reads "MAKENZIE."

- R: From the same die as No. 28.

Struck also in Brass.

31. O: ·ROBT MCKENZIE · SILKS & SHAWLS=SCOTCH | HOUSE

- R: ·CHEAP DRAPERY· WAREHOUSE· 36· HIGH· ST=Shamrock Rose & Thistle.

The leaf of the thistle points to the left. The lower end of the thistle stem is spread over '36.'

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32. *O*: Same as No. 31.

R: Similar to No. 31, but the thistle leaf is nearer the rose, and the bottom of the stem is pointed, over '3.'

33. *O*: Similar to No. 31, but the centre closer, and further from the legend.

R: Similar to No. 31, but the thistle leaf points to the right, and the ends of the stems are turned to the left over 'SE.'

34. *O*: Similar to No. 33, 'SCOTCH' terminating a little higher.

R: Similar to Nos. 31 & 33. The thistle leaf is not pointed, one stem terminates over the dot, and the other over the '3.'

35. *O*: MACKENZIE & SAUNDERS. BELFAST. * =Shamrock and thistle.

R: PAYABLE AT | THE | SCOTCH HOUSE | N^o 36 | HIGH STREET

(lines 1 & 5 curved)

(1847)*

CARRICKFERGUS. (Co. ANTRIM).

36. *O*: CUNNINGHAM & C^o | TEA | MERCHANTS | CARRICKFERGUS (lines 1, 3 & 4 curved)

R: CUNNINGHAM & C^o | WINE | AND | SPIRIT | MERCHANTS (lines 1 & 5 curved)

(1852)*

37. *O*: CUNNINGHAM & C^o | TEA | MERCHANTS | ISLAND MAGEE | AND | CARRICKFERGUS (lines 1 & 6 curved)

R: As No. 36.

(1852)*

*Issuers were in High Street from 1852 to 1881.***

CLONMEL. (Co. TIPPERARY).

38. *O*: PETER M^c SWINEY & C^o ABBEY ST^r CLONMEL=Head of Queen Victoria.

R: PETER M^c SWINEY & C^o MERCERS & DRAPERS.=ABBAY ST, CLONMEL,

Was in business in 1846.

39. *O*: PAYABLE AT M^c SWINEY, O'BRIEN & C^o . =VICTORIA | HOUSE | ABBEY ST | CLONMEL

R: A scissors and foot-rule, with below, ONE | FARTHING (line 2 curved)

CLOYNE. (Co. CORK).

40. *O*: & *R*: R. SWANTON, | WOOLLEN | DRAPER | & HATTER, | CLOYNE. (lines 1 & 5 curved)

*Richard Swanton of 57 Patrick Street. (1845)**

COLERAINE. (Co. LONDONDERRY).

41. *O*: ROB^t SMALL | MERCHANT | COLERAINE (lines 1 & 3 curved).

R: PAYABLE AT CHURCH-ST=34 & 35.

He was in business there in 1856.

42. *O*: As No. 41.

R: GENUINE WAREHOUSE=A caddy with "TEA" inscribed on it.

CORK. (Co. CORK).

43. *O*: ARNOTT & C^o | SILK | MERCERS | DRAPERS | & C. (line 1 curved)

R: PAYABLE AT CORK=Head of Queen Victoria.

44. *O*: J. ARNOTT & C^o | * | SILK MERCERS | DRAPERS | & C. (line 1 curved)

R: PAYABLE IN CORK & BELFAST.=ONE | FARTHING

John Arnott & Co General Drapers, 52 & 53 Patrick St.

45. *O*: ONE FARTHING PAYABLE AT GEO. S. BEALE'S GROCERY WAREHOUSE *
 = Head of Unicorn with 5-pointed star on neck, and underneath,
 14 | PATRICK ST CORK | (line 2 curved)
R: NEWPORT COAL STORES FISH-ST CORK = A two masted ship in dock, horse and
 cart alongside and men, one carrying a sack, buildings in background.
Ex: 1842.
'Newport Coal Stores' refers to Monmouthshire Coal.
Silver proofs and gilt specimens of this occur.
46. *O*: Similar to No. 45, but "82 PATRICK ST." instead of "14."
R: As No. 45.
Silver proofs, and gilt specimens of this occur.
47. *O*: J. C & CO | LATE | TODD & CO | CORK
R: ONE FOURTH OF A PENNY = PAYABLE | IN | CORK | 1841
John Carmichael & Co. (late W. Todd & Co.) 18 & 19 Patrick St.,
General Drapers, Carpet and Floorcloth Warehouse.
48. *O*: E. CLEBURNE, | WOOLLEN DRAPER | NO 9, | GR^T GEORGE ST | CORK.
 (lines 1 & 2 curved)
R. E. CLEBURNE, | CLOTHIER, | NO 9, | GR^T GEORGE ST | CORK. (line 1 curved)
*Issuer was Edward Cleburne. (1848)**
49. *O*: ·W^M FITZ GIBBON & CO G^T GEORGE ST CORK · | GENERAL WOOLLEN LINEN &
 SILK. (in two circles) = MERCH^{TS} | 1835
R: PAYABLE AT W^M FITZ GIBBON & CO G^T GEO. ST CORK = ONE FARTHING.
 Nos. 42, 43, 44 Great George St. (1835)*
50. *O*: & *R*: WILLIAM | FITZ GIBBON | AND CO | MERCHANTS | CORK
This occurs in lead.
51. *O*: DENIS HEGARTY | SPIRIT DEALER | 15 | BARRICK ST | CORK
 (lines 1 & 5 curved, 2 double curved)
 The second 'I' of 'SPIRIT' is under the second limb of 'N' in 'DENIS'
R: Similar, but the second 'I' of 'SPIRIT' is under the middle of 'N,' and 'ST'
 is nearer the margin.
Issuer in business in or about 1847.
52. *O*: & *R*: Similar to No. 51, but "ST." is nearer the margin, as on *R*: of No. 51.
53. *O*: Similar to No. 51, but the second 'I' of 'SPIRIT' is under the first limb of 'N.'
R: Similar to No 51.
54. *O*: JOSEPH HELEN * CORK * = a leaf of Shamrock.
R: ONE | FARTHING | TOKEN
Issuer a pawnbroker at 39 Douglas Street in 1847.
55. *O*: ·TIMOTHY LYNCH · 87 NORTH M^N ST CORK = FANCY BREAD | & | BISCUITS
 within a circle (line 1 curved)
R: GROCERY | CONFECTIONARY | AND | SUGAR WORKS
Issuer was in North Main Street in 1847.
56. *O*: LYONS & CO | TEA COFFEE | & SUGAR | IMPORTERS | & DEALERS | CORK
 (lines 1, 2, 5, 6 curved)
R: Similar.
James Lyons, Tea Dealer, 141 Barrack St and 9 North Main St. in 1852.
57. *O*: E. D. MAHONY, | 62, | NORTH MAIN ST | CORK. (lines 1 & 4 curved)
R: TRIMMING WORSTED & COTTON WAREHOUSE + = AND WOOL STORE
Issuer Edward Duke Mahony, in business in 1847.

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58. O: CORK | MONT DE PIÉTÉ | TOKEN

R: A three masted ship in full sail between two tall towers.

This was a Pawn Office.

59. O: 'JOHN O'DONOGHUES' GENERAL WAREHOUSE = —O— | CORK | —O—

R: 49 GREAT GEORGE'S STREET * = —O— | CORK | —O—

60. O: OGILVIE AND BIRD CORK * = ONE | FARTHING | 1838 within a fine circular line.

R: DRAPERS AND SILKMERCERS * = PAYABLE | AT | 48 & 49 | PATRICK ST within a fine circular line.

61. O: 'WILLIAM REARDON' SHANDON STREET = CORK

R: Head of Queen Victoria.

Of 37 Shandon Street in 1847.

62. O: WM READON | PAWNBROKER | 37 SHANDON ST. | CORK.

R: Head of Queen Victoria.

63. O: ROGERS | PAPER | HANGINGS | CORK (lines 1 & 4 curved)

R: PAINTING | PLUMBING | &c | 82 GEORGES ST (lines 1 & 4 curved)

Issuer Michael William Rogers was in business in 1847.

64. O: W^m SEYMOUR & CO * | HARDWARE | MERCHANTS | PATRICK ST | CORK | (lines 1 & 6 curved)

R: Vulcan leaning on a sledge which rests on an anvil block.

Of 67 Patrick Street in 1844. This is struck in brass.

65. O: AMBROSE SHEPPARD | LEATHER | DEALER | 82 SHANDON ST | CORK

(lines 1 4 & 5 curved)

R: LEATHER DEALER | AND SHOE | FINDINGS | WAREHOUSE (lines 1 & 4 curved)

COVE. (Co. CORK).

66. O: SWANTON & CO | DRAPERS, | COVE. (lines 1 & 3 curved)

R: Head of Queen Victoria

(1847)*

DALKEY (Co. DUBLIN).

See No. 113.

DOWNPATRICK. (Co. DOWN).

67. O: 'HUGH CROSKERY' | WINE | SPIRIT | & | TEA | MERCHANT (lines 1, 5 & 6 curved)

R: PAYABLE | AT | MY NEW | ESTABLISHMENT | DOWNPATRICK | — | ONE | FARTHING (lines 1, 4, 5 & 8 curved)

A spray of 3 leaves of shamrock at each side of the words, 'MY NEW.'
*Originally in Scotch Street, later the "New Establishment" was in Market Street. (1852)**

DROGHEDA. (Co. LOUTH).

68. O: TODD, LAING & CO. FAIR ST DROGHEDA. = A building.

R: WHOLESALE & RETAIL | LINEN & WOOLLEN | DRAPERS | MERCERS, | HOSIERS, | HATTERS, | HABERDASHERS, | OUTFITTERS, | & HOUSE | FURNISHERS. | BONNETS, BOOTS & SHOES, | MANTLES & CLOAKS & C

(lines 4, 6, 7, 8 straight, the rest curved, 5 double curved)

Issuers were in business in 1846.

DUBLIN. (Co. DUBLIN).

69. *O*: THE TEA ESTABLISHMENT DUBLIN = A building, below it; ANDREWS & C^o
and to the left H. to the right B
R: ANDREWS'S | FAMOUS | 4/6 | TEA (*The words in curved lines*) (1834)*
70. *O*: THOMAS BRYAN | 23 UP^R BAGGOT | STREET | DUBLIN | WINE & SPIRIT DEALER
(*lines 1, 2, 4, 5 curved*)
R: VICTORIA DEI GRATIA = Head of Queen Victoria.
(1852-1864)*
71. *O*: Similar to No. 70, but reading 'DEAL^R'
R: Similar to No. 70.
This variety is struck on a smaller and thinner flan than No. 70.
72. *O*: · BYRNE & C^o · 6 & 7 GRANBY ROW DUBLIN=Head of Queen Victoria.
(*The nose is arched*)
R: BYRNE & C^o | TEA & WINE | MERCHANTS · | 6 & 7 GRANBY ROW | DUBLIN.
(*lines 1 & 5 curved*)
(1849-1865)*
73. *O*: Similar to No. 72. The head is a little different, the nose being slightly
retroussé instead of arched, and the back hair projects in three separate
locks.
R: As No. 72.
74. *O*: CANNOCK WHITE & C^o DUBLIN & CORK = Head of Queen Victoria.
R: 'CANNOCK WHITE & C^o N^R THE POST OFFICE. = DRAPERS | 14 HENRY ST |
DUBLIN
(1847)*
75. *O*: 'CANNOCK WHITE & C^o 14 HENRY ST DUBLIN = Head of Queen Victoria.
R: Similar to No. 74, but a dot instead of a line under the 'R' of 'N^R'
76. *O*: * CANNOCK WHITE & C^o * DUBLIN (small lettering)=Three leaves of
Shamrock. The stalk of the Shamrock, points to the 'I' in 'DUBLIN.'
R: VICTORIA QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN = Head of Queen Victoria.
77. *O*: · CANNOCK WHITE & C^o · DUBLIN (large lettering) = Three leaves of sham-
rock. The stalk of the shamrock points to 'B' in 'DUBLIN.'
R: Same as No. 76.
78. *O*: M. W. DONOGHUE | N^o 1 | FITZWILLIAM | LANE | * DUBLIN *
(*lines 1 & 5 curved*)
R: VICTORIA REGINA = Head of Queen Victoria.
cf. No. 96. (1847)*
79. *O*: 'GEORGE S, FITZ-HUGH' 9 COLLEGE ST = A rose.
R: VICTORIA REGINA. = Head of Queen Victoria.
(1852)*
80. *O*: MICHAEL KILLEEN WOOLLEN DRAPER = Head of Queen Victoria.
R: NATIONAL WOOLLEN HALL = 10 | DAME STREET | DUBLIN
(1846)*
81. *O*: M^{rs} SWINEY DELANY & COMPANY * = LOWER | SACKVILLE ST | DUBLIN
R: A building, above it DUBLIN, below OPENED MAY | 1853

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82. *O*: O'GRADY CLINTON & C^o * DRAPERS * = 19 & 20 | HENRY ST | DUBLIN
R: MAY IRELAND FLOURISH = A harp of 12 strings, beneath a spray of shamrock.
 (1852)*
83. *O*: 'P. J. PLUNKETT LEATHER MERCHANT · DUBLIN=Head of Queen Victoria,
 below it 1 AUNGIER-ST (curved)
R: IMPORTER | OF | FRENCH & ENGLISH | LEATHER, | SHOE | TRIMMINGS | &c. |
 WHOLESALE & RETAIL
Also in Brass. (1847)* (lines 1 & 8 curved)
84. *O*: N^o 49 SOUTH KING STREET DUBLIN = THE | PORTER | BARM | BAKERY
R: THOMPSON & C^o | N^o 49 | SOUTH KING ST | * | DUBLIN (lines 1 & 5 curved)
 (1847)*
85. *O*: N^o 49 SOUTH KING STREET · DUBLIN = THE | PORTER | BARM | BAKERY
R: CORK BAKERY | N^o 49 | SOUTH KING ST | * | DUBLIN (lines 1 & 5 curved)
86. *O*: 38 STEPHENS GREEN NORTH DUBLIN = THE | PORTER | BARM | BAKERY
R: CORK BAKERY | * | SOUTH KING ST | * | DUBLIN (lines 1 & 5 curved)
87. *O*: · SCOTT BELL & C^o · WELLINGTON QUAY DUBLIN = SUCCESSORS | TO |
 HARVIES & C^o (lines 1 & 3 curved)
 The 'o' of 'co' in the outer legend is distinctly oval.
R: · SILK MERCERS · DRAPERS · HOSIERS = Shamrock, Rose & Thistle in group.
The address was 2 to 5 Wellington Quay and 1 Essex Street. (1852)*
88. *O*: Similar to No. 87, but larger lettering in name, and smaller in address.
 'to' lines with 'o' of 'co' instead of above it. The 'o' of 'co.' is
 nearly circular.
R: As No. 87.
89. *O*: · TALTY, MURPHY & C^o. 9 & 10, HENRY ST, DUBLIN = Head of Queen Victoria,
R: TRIMMINGS, | HABERDASHERY, | BERLIN WOOLS | HOSIERY, | SHIRTS, GLOVES
 &c (lines 1 & 5 curved) (1849)*
90. *O*: · TODD, BURNS, & C^o DRAPERS, MARY ST DUBLIN 1834 . = ONE | FARTHING
 The 'g' of 'FARTHING' is in line with the space after 'ST.'
R: W· TODD, & C^o, DRAPERS, CORK, & LIMERICK · = PAYABLE IN | DUBLIN, |
 CORK, | OR | LIMERICK · (lines 1 & 5 curved)
 The 'L' of the central 'LIMERICK' is opposite the first 'D' in 'TODD'
 and the period after it, is opposite the 'M.' The 'R' of 'CORK' & of
 'OR' is above the level of 'o.' (1832)*
91. *O*: Same as No. 90, except that the letters are blurred as if struck from a much
 used die.
R: Same as No. 90.
92. *O*: Similar to No. 90, but the centre terminates further from the outer legend
 and is lower, the 'g' of 'FARTHING' being opposite the 'D' of 'DUBLIN.'
R: Similar to No. 90, but after 'co,' there is a comma only. The 'L' of the
 central 'LIMERICK' is opposite to the last 'D' of 'TODD,' and the period
 after it, is opposite the first limb of 'E.' The 'R' of 'OR' is below the
 level of 'o.'
93. *O*: Same as No. 92.
R: Similar to No. 92, but the period after the central 'LIMERICK' is opposite
 the 'M.'

94. *O*: Similar to No. 90, but the centre is slightly lower, and the comma has a different slope.

R: Similar to No. 93, but the 'R' of the central 'CORK' is directly under 'L' of 'DUBLIN' instead of under 'BL,' and the comma after the outer 'CORK' has an extreme slope to the right.

Silver proof of this exists.

95. *O*: TODD BURNS & Co. DUBLIN = Head of Queen Victoria.

R: GENERAL FURNISHERS DRAPERS TAILORS &C &C = 47 | MARY ST | DUBLIN

96. *O*: W^M. TOMBLINSON | N^o 1 | FITZWILLIAM | LANE | + DUBLIN + (lines 1 & 5, curved)

R: VICTORIA REGINA = Head of Queen Victoria.

*Issuer was a Vintner. Cf. No. 78. (1856)**

97. *O*: Similar to No. 96, but the 'A' of 'LANE' comes below the 'WI' instead of immediately below 'w' and the second 'L' of 'FITZWILLIAM' is above the level of the first 'L.'

R: As No. 96, but with I.C.P. below the bust.

Same R. die as No. 123. The initials are those of John C. Parkes, of The Coombe, Dublin

98. *O*: WEBB & C^o | LINEN & WOOLLEN | DRAPERS | 10 11 & 12 | CORN MARKET | DUBLIN (lines 1, 2, 5 & 6 curved)

R: VICTORIA QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN = Head of Queen Victoria (1852)*

ENNISCORTHY. (Co. WEXFORD).

99. *O*: W. I. JOHNSTON | & C^o | COMMERCIAL | HOUSE | ENNISCORTHY (lines 1 & 5 curved)

R: VICTORIA REGINA = Head of Queen Victoria.

GALWAY. (Co. GALWAY).

100. *O*: 'GEORGE FARQUARSON & C^o ' GALWAY = 1839

R: 'GEO^d FARQUARSON & C^o ' WOOLLEN DRAPERS = GALWAY
Issuer had his business in William Street.

101. *O*: 'GEORGE FARQUARSON & C^o GALWAY' 1839 = ONE | FARTHING

R: 'GEO^d FARQUARSON & C^o WOOLLEN DRAPERS' = PAYABLE | AT | GALWAY

102. *O*: I. FORTUNE & C^o. GALWAY = Head of Queen Victoria.

R: I. FORTUNE & C^o | LINEN | & | WOOLLEN | DRAPERS, | HOSIERS | HATTERS | & | HABERDASHERS | GALWAY.

Also in Brass.

(lines 1, 2, 9 & 10 curved)

103. *O*: MICHAEL HENNESSY EYRE SQUARE GALWAY = WOOLLEN & | FANCY — WAREHOUSE (in curved lines)

R: PAYABLE AT M^L. HENNESSY'S EYRE SQUARE GALWAY = ONE FARTHING

104. *O*: 'MICHAEL HENNESSY WOOLLEN DRAPER HATTER &C. = GALWAY

R: 'PAYABLE AT M. HENNESSY'S ' EYRE SQUARE ' GALWAY = ONE FARTHING

GORT. (Co. GALWAY).

105. *O*: JOHN BOLAND | ' GORT ' | * (line 1 curved)

R: ' JOHN BOLAND GROCER ' | WINE | & | SPIRIT | MERCHANT

(lines 1 & 5 curved)

The shop under the same name still existed in 1910.

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ISLANDMAGEE. (Co. ANTRIM).

See No. 37.

KILLARNEY. (Co. KERRY).

106. *O*: C. A. O'KEEFFE MAIN ST., KILLARNEY = Head of Queen Victoria.

R: WOOLLEN & LINEN DRAPER = HATTER | & | HOSIER.

107. *O*: ' WILLIAM MCSWEENEY ' KILLARNEY = MERCHANT

R: ' COMMERCIAL WAREHOUSE ' 1, 2, & 3, HENN ST. = Head of Queen Victoria.

108. *O*: ' M^c SWEENEY & O'KEEFFE LATE I. WELPLY & C^o ' = GENERAL DRAPERS

R: * COMMERCIAL HOUSE * KILLARNEY = Head of Queen Victoria.

Note: James Welply issued the Macroom Tokens 125 & 126.

109. *O*: M^c SWEENEY | & O KIEFFE, | LATE I. WELPLY & C^o | GENERAL | DRAPERS.

R: COMMERCIAL | HOUSE, | N^o 1, 2, & 3, | HENN ST^t | KILLARNEY.

(lines 1 & 5 curved)

110. *O*: ' SWEENEY & O'KEEFE ' GENERAL DRAPERS &C.

= —O— | KILLARNEY | —O—

R: ' COMMERCIAL HOUSE ' 1. 2 & 3 HENN STREET

= —O— | KILLARNEY | —O—

KILMALLOCK. (Co. LIMERICK).

111. *O*: DAN^t O'BRIEN, KILMALLOCK. = DRAPER,

R: Head of Queen Victoria.

KINGSTOWN. (Co. DUBLIN).

112. *O*: ' HARRISON & C^os ' TEA ' IS THE BEST = Shamrock Rose & Thistle.

R: ' HARRISON & C^o ' LOW^e GEORGES ST ' KINGSTOWN = SUCCESSORS | TO |

J. BEWLEY (lines 1 & 3 curved)

(1849)*

113. *O*: Same as No. 112

R: ' HARRISON & C^o ' KINGSTOWN & DALKEY = GENERAL | —. — | GROCERS

(lines 1 & 3 curved)

(1854)*

LIMERICK. (Co. LIMERICK).

114. *O*: ' LESLIE ACHESON ' LIMERICK = WOOLLEN DRAPER

R: A wreath of Shamrock = 1838.

E: Milled.

115. Similar to No. 114, but *E* plain.

116. *O*: ' JOHN EGAN ' WHOLESALE MANCHESTER WAREHOUSE = PAYABLE AT |
N^o 6 | ROBERT | STREET | LIMERICK (lines 1 & 5 curved)

R: ONE FARTHING 1832 = A spinning wheel.

117. *O*: ' CHAS HIGGINSON & C^o ' LIMERICK. = DRAPERS

R: Head of Queen Victoria.

118. *O*: M^cARDELL AND BOURKE LIMERICK. 1843 = GUNPOWDER | MERCHANTS

R: TRIMMING, WORSTED, & STATIONARY = WAREHOUSE | 3, BUTLAND ST

119. *O*: PAYABLE AT THE MONT DE PIÉTÉ LIMERICK * = Figure of a building with
central tower, flagstaff with flag to right, on top. *Ex*: 1837.

R: ONE | FARTHING | * * | surrounded by a myrtle wreath.

120. *O*: REVINGTON, HIGGINSON & C^o * * * = DRAPERS, | LIMERICK.
(line 2 curved)

R: Head of Queen Victoria. *Ex*. 1846.

121. *O*: ' SCARR ' BROTHERS ' LIMERICK = ' TEA MEN ' | 15 | PATRICK STREET
(lines 1 & 3 curved)

R: EXHIBITION PALACE *Ex*: LONDON | 1851 = Figure of a building.

122. *O*: PAYABLE AT | IN^o UNTHANK & SON'S | 34 | WILLIAM STREET | LIMERICK
(lines 1, 2, 4, 5 curved)

R: SOURCES OF A NATION'S WEALTH = A shuttle, below it a plough.

LONGFORD. (Co. LONGFORD).

123. *O*: JOHN MAXWELL | —.— | MERCHANT | —.— | ' LONGFORD .
(lines 1 & 5 curved)

R: VICTORIA REGINA = Head of Queen Victoria, and I.C.P. below the bust.
Same R. die as No. 97. (1852)*

LOUGHREA. (Co. GALWAY).

124. *O*: JAMES O'FLYNN LOUGHREA. (Centre blank)

R: A wreath of Shamrock = 1842.

Issuers business in Main Street.

LURGAN. (Co. ARMAGH).

Same as No. 1. q.v.

MACROOM. (Co. CORK).

125. *O*: & *R*: JAMES WELPLY MERCHANT = MACROOM

126. *O*: JAMES WELPLY | MERCHANT, | MACROOM ' | 1845. (lines 1, 2 & 4 curved)

R: VICTORIA HOUSE MACROOM = Head of Queen Victoria.

127. *O*: Similar to No. 126, but the 'J' of 'JAMES' almost touches 'M.' There is a comma after 'MACROOM.' The centre is not struck up.

R: Similar to 126, but the head is larger, there is a star before and after 'MACROOM,' and the lettering is more spread.

MALLOW. (Co. CORK).

128. *O*: ROBERT EVANS | AND | COMPANY | MALLOW | 1847 (line 1 curved)

R: WOOLLEN DRAPERS | SILK | MERCERS | AND | HATTERS (line 1 curved)

Business was in Main Street.

MITCHELSTOWN. (Co. CORK).

129. *O*: DENNIS MAHONY, | LINEN | & | WOOLLEN DRAPER, | MITCHELSTOWN.

(lines 1, 2, 4, & 5 curved)

R: LINEN & WOOLLEN DRAPER MITCHELSTOWN = A sheep suspended in a sling.

MOATE. (Co. WESTMEATH).

See No. 3.

MONAGHAN. (Co. MONAGHAN).

130. O: * F. ADAMS MONAGHAN * (Centre plain.)
 R: A wreath of Shamrock. (Centre plain.)
Francis Adams, Linen-draper, of Market Square in 1846.

NEWCASTLE. (Co. LIMERICK).

131. O: FLORENCE O'CONNELL * NEWCASTLE * = MERCHANT (in a curved line)
 R: * IRISH WOOLLEN WAREHOUSE * BRIDGE ST. = Head of Queen Victoria.
132. Similar to No. 131, with smaller stars on Obv., the star on the left coming midway between 'M' of 'MERCHANT' & 'N' of 'NEWCASTLE' instead of being close to 'M.'

NEWTOWNARDS. (Co. DOWN).

133. O: BOWMAN | NEWTOWNARDS | BAKERS | & CONFECTIONERS | WINE SPIRIT |
 AND | BOTTLING STORES | MANUFACTURER OF AERATED WATERS
 (lines 1, 7, 8 curved.)
 R: GROCERS DRUGGISTS | STATIONERS | LEATHER ROPE | HARDWARE | AND |
 IRON MERCHANTS (lines 1, 2, 6 curved)
Bowman Brothers were in business at High Street in 1856.
134. O: BOWMAN | NEWTOWNARDS | WINE SPIRIT | AND | BOTTLING STORES |
 MANUFACTURER OF AERATED WATERS (lines 1 5 & 6 curved).
 R: GROCERS DRUGGISTS | STATIONERS | LEATHER ROPE | HARDWARE | AND |
 IRON MERCHANTS (lines 1, 2, 6 curved)
 The 'H' of 'HARDWARE' is opposite the 'R' of 'IRON' & the 'E'
 opposite 'TS' of 'MERCHANTS.'
135. Similar to No. 134, but 'HARDWARE' is higher, and there is less space between
 'LEATHER' & 'ROPE.'

QUEENSTOWN. (Co. CORK).

136. O: SWANTON & CO. DRAPERS, QUEENSTOWN.
 R: Head of Queen Victoria.
*Issuer's address was 13 & 14 New Square. (1849)**

SKIBBEREEN. (Co. CORK).

137. O: * GEORGE JAMES LEVIS * SKIBBEREEN = GENERAL | COMMISSION | MERCHANT
 R: ONE | FARTHING | TOKEN
 (1848-9)*
138. O: P. VICKERY SKIBBEREEN = Two keys crossed, below, HARDWARE | HOUSE
 R: * TRIMMING * | AND | FANCY | WAREHOUSE (lines 1 & 4 curved)
*Issuer Paul Vickery of Main Street. (1845)**
139. O: * SAMUEL VICKERY * SKIBBEREEN = BAKER.
 R: FULL WEIGHT underneath Beam-scales, with loaf putting down the beam.
*The business was in Main Street. (1853)**

TIPPERARY. (Co. TIPPERARY).

140. O: PAYABLE AT MORRIS'S COMMERCIAL HOUSE. = ONE | FARTHING | — |
 TIPPERARY (line 4 curved)
 R: PAYABLE AT MORRIS'S COMMERCIAL HOUSE. = TIPPERARY
*It is probable that the issuer was Morrissey, a draper, of 52 East Main
 St., in 1856.*

TRALEE. (Co. KERRY).

141. O: J. HANRAHAN & CO. | VICTORIA | HOUSE | TRALEE. (*lines 1 & 4 curved*)
 R: WOOLLEN & LINEN DRAPERS * = HATS
142. O: * J. LUMSDEN & CO * | HATTERS | TRALEE (*lines 1, & 3 curved*)
 R: DRAPERS AND SILKMERCERS * = 33 | DENNY STREET (*within a Circle*)
 (1838)
143. O: * LUMSDEN ORR & CO * TRALEE = ONE | FARTHING | 1839
 (*within a circle*)
 R: DRAPERS AND SILKMERCERS * = PAYABLE | AT 33 | DENNY ST
 (*within a circle*)
144. O: * M. H. REARDON * TRALEE = ONE | FARTHING | 1839 (*within a circle*)
 R: WOOLLEN LINEN & HAT WAREHOUSE * = PAYABLE | AT | TRALEE
 (*within a circle*)

TULLAMORE. (King's County).

See No. 3.

WATERFORD. (Co. WATERFORD).

145. O: CONWAY CARLETON * WATERFORD * = DRAPER
 R: A wreath of shamrock = 1841
*He had his business at 10 Little Georges Street, and King St.
 Also struck in brass.*
146. O: CONWAY CARLETON WATERFORD The centre blank. The lettering is much
 smaller than that of No. 145.
 R: As No. 145.
147. O: JAMES CARROLL, SILK MERCER, DRAPER &C. = QUAY | WATERFORD
 R: PAYABLE AT THE COMMERCIAL HOUSE * | * * QUAY * * WATERFORD
 (*in two circles*) = ONE | FARTHING
Issuer was in business at 93 Custom House Quay in 1846.
148. O: * J. W. DELAHUNTY * WATERFORD = DRAPER | AND | HATTER
 R: Head of Queen Victoria.
James W. Delahunty was in business at 1 Broad Street, in 1846.
149. O: DAVID HOLDEN | WOOLLEN DRAPER | 1, BROAD ST | WATERFORD.
 (*lines all curved*)
 R: ESTABLISHED 1835. = A bale of goods, on it inscribed, THE | NEW CLOTH
 HALL
150. O: W. KIRKWOOD | DRAPER | & | SILK MERCER | WATERFORD
 (*lines 1 & 5 curved*)
 R: Front elevation of a house.
151. O: M^c LEER & KELLY * DRAPERS * (*centre plain.*)
 R: NATIONAL | WOOLLEN HOUSE | QUAY, | WATERFORD. (*lines 1 & 4 curved*)
Address 53 Merchant's Quay.

60 ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND

152. O: MILLING & COMPANY | 4 | LITTLE GEORGES | STREET | WATERFORD
(lines 1, 3 & 5 curved)

R: SILK-MERCERS, LINEN-DRAPERS, HABERDASHERS &c. = A roped bale of
goods with on it inscribed M & CO | W

Issued by John Milling & Co.

153. O: WALSH, ROBERTSON & CO. 1846 = DRAPERS

R: 74, MERCHANTS QUAY WATERFORD. = WALSH, | ROBERTSON | & CO.

UNCERTAIN

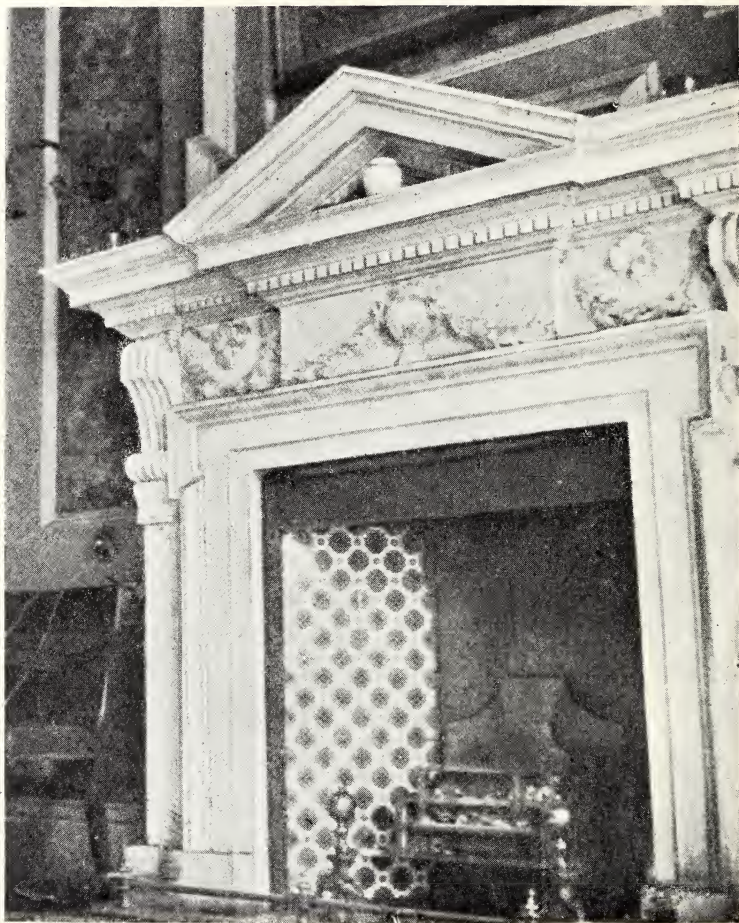
154. O: R. HOARE | GROCER & | TEA DEALER (line 1 curved) below a sugar-loaf
with on it inscribed ^{RH}_G between two caddies, one inscribed, HYSON
the other, SOU | CHONG

R: IRONMONGER | & | DRAPER (line 1 curved) below a roll of cloth inscribed
IRISH, also a sickle and a hay-rake.

155. O: GROCERY | AND | SPIRIT TRADE

R: 1 FREDERICK | STREET

This is probably a Dublin Token.



MANTEL-PIECE, BALLINGUILE, DONNYBROOK.

MISCELLANEA

Interesting Find near Tulsk.—While quarrying sand in the Castleisland Hills, near Tulsk, County Roscommon, workmen in the employment of the Congested Districts Board found seven large cannon balls. They were of solid iron, and are believed to have lain there since 1640.—From the *Irish Times*, December 29th, 1919.

Note on Old Mantel-piece at Ballinguile, Donnybrook.—In the December, 1919, number of this *Journal* will be found a paper which I read before the Society entitled “An Old House at Donnybrook,” with which it was intended that an illustration of the mantel-piece which is in the dining room, should be printed. It was, however, found impossible to obtain a good photograph at the time. I have now been able to obtain one, which is attached to this note. It is wonderful how this beautiful relic of a by-gone age escaped injury through the various changes in fortune which this house has undergone, as, since writing my paper, above referred to, I have discovered that the house was used as a hospital at the time of the Famine, and was subsequently set in tenements for many years, until the time of its repair about 1870 or 71. When I came into possession in 1873 this mantel-piece was covered with about half an inch of old paint to which I feel sure it owes its present good condition. The porch which stands in front of the house and which is of about the same period originally stood in front of a house in Kildare Street, on the south side of Leinster House, and was taken down to provide a site for the National Library, and was purchased by me from the Contractor and removed to Ballinguile where, as stated above, it now stands in front of the old house. H. BANTRY WHITE.

Straw Head-dresses.—Head Constable Lyons, *Fellow*, has sent to the Society two straw head-dresses used at a wren-boy celebration at Newport, Co. Mayo, on St. Stephen's Day, 1919. “The coronal arrangement at the top of these helmets seems intended to represent the sun. Some helmets are not so elaborate in this particular, as they have but a single loop which perhaps is intended to represent the disc of the sun. There is at least another type of head-dress which is both corselet and helmet, and which terminates in a cone above the head, entirely enclosing the upper

part of the body. I was unable to get one of these, as in the frenzy of the occasion all the regalia are generally destroyed before the end of the ceremonies and in the licence of the occasion little attention is paid to a request even when supported by backsheesh. But the wearer of this corslet-helmet dress is, I believe, called "the fool." There is also an "oinsheac" (she-fool) who is dressed with absurd and trivial gaudiness. The "oinsheac" is really a male, who acts the part of a female, and the pair maintain during the celebrations an interchange of grotesque endearments. Rude dancing is almost continuously practised by the whole gang.

The inclusion of a male and a sham female in mock conjugal union seems to imply the survival of a sexual rite, a ceremony of fructification. The straw head-dresses represent better than most simple textures the colour of the sun. This celebration is observed as a pretext to collect backsheesh and some of the proceeds is spent in drink in the evening of the festival. The apportioning of the proceeds often gives the slight pretext needed for a row.

Two or three generations ago the celebration was more decent and orderly and it had not entirely lost its primeval seriousness. The whole parish zealously betook itself on Christmas Day to hunt the wren. When one of these birds was obtained, it was placed on a gaudily-decorated holly bush, and carried on the 26th at the head of a solemn procession. Contributions were collected and expended much as at present, but with more solemnity and decency. If the processionists of two parishes met, a bloody fight was the result, as each parish fought for the honour of its own "wran."

The song used by the processionists when soliciting contributions is:—

The wran, the wran
 The king of all birds
 St Stephen's Day he was
 Caught in the furze
 Although he is little,
 His honour is great.
 Then up, landlady,
 And give him a thrate.
 Dreólin, Dreólin
 Where's your nest?
 'Tis in the tree
 That I love best.
 Between a holly
 And ivy tree,
 Where none of the birds
 Can meddle with me.

A more modern barbarism adds; or rather incorporates in the song:—

Up with the kettle,
And down with the pan;
A pinny or tuppence
To bury the wran.

Nowadays there is no general practical celebration. The observance is performed by a great many knots of small boys and rude young men, and the celebration, though tolerated, is regarded with disfavour. But the grandfathers of the present generation took the matter seriously as a vital part of the Christmas celebrations and it was a great honour for a parish contingent to capture the "wran" of a rival parish and bear him in triumph with their own."

It is noteworthy that the rhymes sung by the wren-boys are and have been in English, even in places like Newport where Irish was the prevailing speech amongst the people.

(Communicated by Hon. Gen. Secretary).

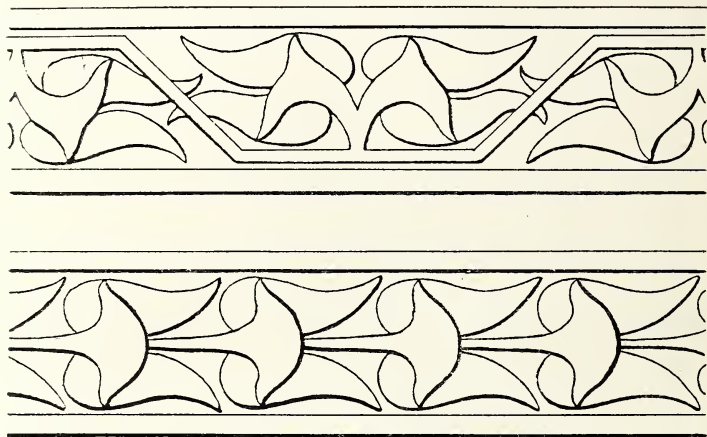
Rathbawn Souterrain.—An interesting subterranean chamber, and passage has been recently discovered in the townland of Rathbawn, near Moynalty, Co. Meath, close to the border of Co. Cavan. While engaged in the erection of a new fence through a large pasture field, the workmen came across a few large, flat stones, which, when removed, exposed a deep, circular cavity. The owner of the field accompanied me to the spot, and I made an examination of the cavity. The chamber is hemispherical, and is $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height, and 13 feet in diameter. It is built entirely of rough rounded stones, and is covered on top with a large flag-stone. A passage $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide leads from the chamber in an easterly direction. I explored this passage with the help of a candle, and found that after leading 25 feet it suddenly curved, and after passing a few feet farther it narrowed, and curving upwards, apparently towards the surface, was terminated by a large stone.

The floor of the chamber was dry, and revealed nothing of antiquarian interest. Both chamber and passage are constructed of the same type of stone as is found in the locality. The spot where the chamber was discovered is situated on top of a small hill, but there is nothing which would lead one to suspect the presence of such a chamber. The covering stone is about a foot below the surface of the ground, and it seems to have hitherto escaped detection during tillage operations.

There is no legend, or tradition in the neighbourhood to account for the cavity.

PHILIP O'CONNELL, M.Sc. (*Fellow*).

Nevinstown Cross near Navan.—This wayside cross has been mentioned in a former volume of the *Journal*,¹ and more fully described in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* for 1846,² where it is stated that the cross was

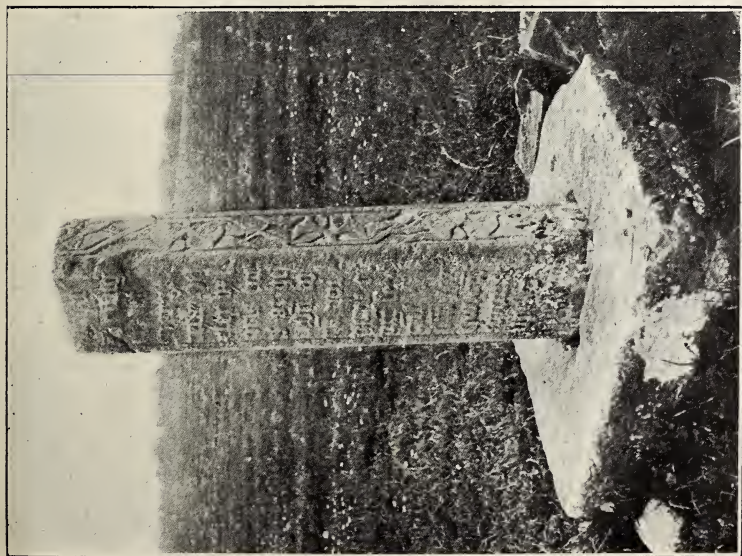
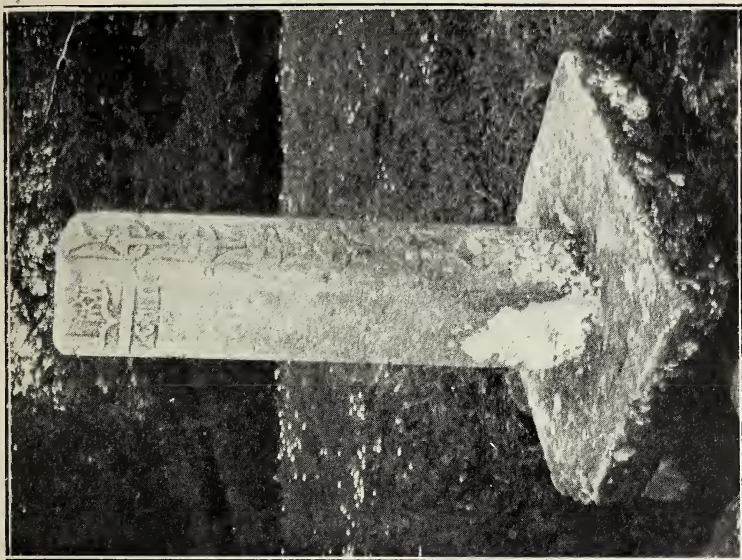


GOthic PATTERNS FROM NEVINSTOWN CROSS.

erected in 1588 by Michael de Cusack, Lord of Portrane and Rathaldron, and by his wife Margaret Dexter. Michael de Cusack was a Baron of the Exchequer and died in 1589. The inscription on the front of the shaft is given in each of the accounts mentioned above. Monuments of this kind are as a rule covered with inscriptions and figures under canopies, but in this instance the edges are decorated with two simple but effective Gothic patterns; or rather variations of the same pattern. In both the leaves are of the same type, but in one case the stem from which they spring passes straight along the centre of the panel, and in the other crosses from side to side.

The object of mentioning the monument here is to illustrate these designs which are very suitable for use as borders in church ornament, and would, for that purpose, be infinitely superior to the feeble and unmeaning patterns one often sees stencilled round the walls of churches.

¹ Vol. xxi 1891), p. 487.



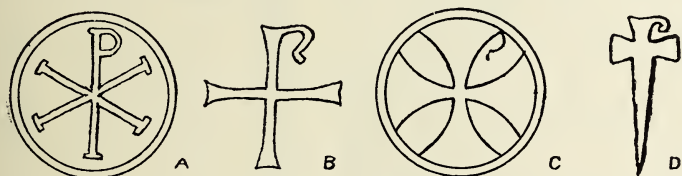
NEVINSTOWN WAYSIDE CROSS, COUNTY MEATH



The back of the cross is plain, except at the top where the lower part of a shield can still be made out with the initials M.C. M.D. placed under it. The dexter side shows an upright line which agrees with the division *per pale* of the Cusack arms. The sinister side is more difficult, it seems to show the end of a pale or cross fretty with short lines or marks on the field at either side, possibly ermine or else some small charge.³

HENRY S. CRAWFORD.

The Cross-Slab at Knockane, Co. Kerry.—In my list of cross-slabs (1912) this was the first stone mentioned in the County Kerry. I noted that the locality was not certainly identified, as the only information I had was taken from Du Noyer's drawing in the R.I.A. Library, Vol. I., No. 50. I find that in the same



THE SACRED MONOGRAM.

A, B, C are the principal varieties.

D is the only known Irish example.

year the Bishop of Limerick, Ardfert and Aghadoe, described and illustrated this monument in the *Kerry Archaeological Magazine*, Vol. I., P. 477; and gave information which locates it near the village (not townland) of Knockane, in the Townland of Coumduff and Parish of Ballynacourty; about $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile N.W. of Anascaul station on the Tralee and Dingle Railway.

The cross on the stone is of extreme interest as a development of the Sacred Monogram, which has not hitherto been found in Ireland. The connection of this cross with the monogram is mentioned in the paper referred to, but the chief point of interest is not touched on.

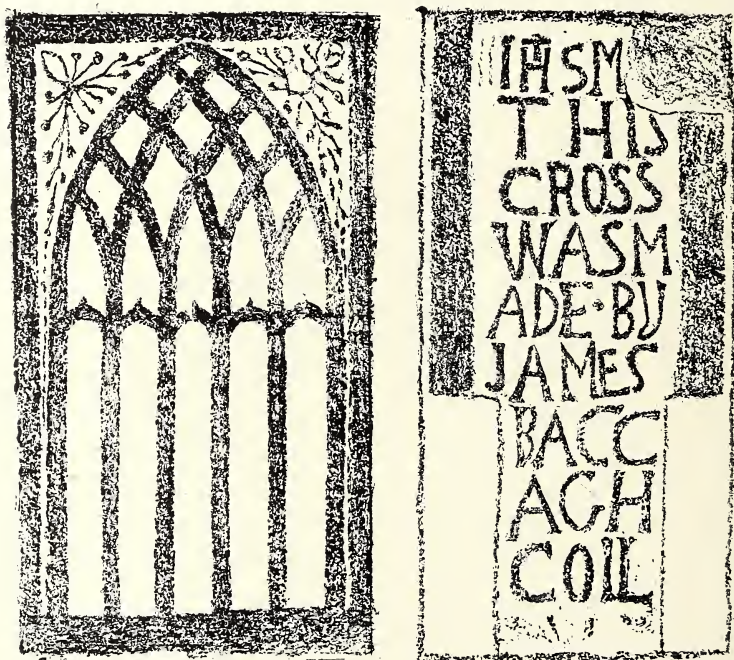
In Mr. Romilly Allen's *Celtic Art*, P. 163, we find the following statement; with which other antiquaries have agreed.—“As the Chi-Rho monogram does not occur on the early inscribed stones of Ireland, but in place of it the cross with equal arms expanded at the ends, enclosed in a circle, which is derived from the monogram; it naturally follows that Irish Christianity is later than that of Cornwall, Wales, and the south-west of Scotland.”

³ This is rather like the Arms of Milles, of Co. Dublin, given in a funeral entry of 1625—ermine, a pale masculy sable.

In order to qualify this statement it is satisfactory to find an instance of the occurrence of the monogram, though not in the earliest form, in Ireland. In the figure are shown the three chief varieties of the monogram (which gradually approximates to the cross) and after them the actual form existing at Knockane.

HENRY S. CRAWFORD.

Two Carvings at Athenry Abbey.—The figure shows two designs from the Dominican Friary. The first is cut with other patterns on a slab which originally formed part of a tomb or altar. It



RUBBINGS OF TWO CARVINGS AT ATHENRY ABBEY. SCALE 1/6.

represents a tracery window of late form, and is $18\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height from the sill to the point of the opening. Professor Macalister, in his paper on the church,¹ has alluded to it as resembling the inserted east window of the building; the tracery is of the same type, but the carving has four mullions, the actual window only three. It is unusual to see the representation of a window used for decoration.

The second design is on the broken shaft of a memorial cross which is now kept in the sacristy. The stone is 21 inches in length

¹ *Journal*, vol. xliii. (1913), p. 220.

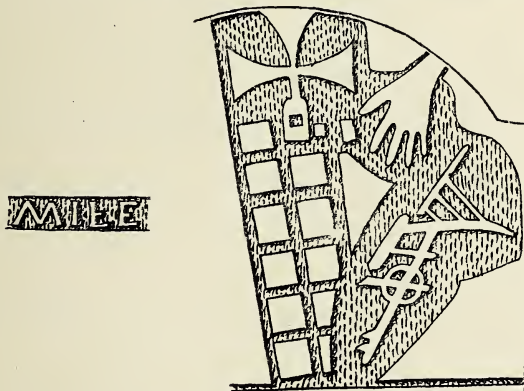
and the inscription is in English; the letters are of ordinary form except the Y. which is unusual. The word *baccagh* (lame) is introduced into the name as a mark of identity: the surname is probably a peculiar spelling of the well known name COYLE.

HENRY S. CRAWFORD.

An Eighteenth Century Tombstone in Claregalway Abbey.—

The monuments in Claregalway are interesting from the frequent repetition on them of the deceased's tools, &c.; there are several fine examples of Wafers and Chalices on priests' tombs; also farriers' tools, ploughs, and other symbols less easily understood.¹

The most remarkable is a slab lying in the nave, on which is carved a *Dextera Dei*, a plough, and a tilled field, as shown in the figure. The introduction of the *Dextera Dei* may have been suggested by the salutation "God bless the work," commonly



DESIGN ON A TOMBSTONE AT CLAREGALWAY ABBEY.

used when passing men employed in the fields. The ancient form of plough is well shown.

The inscription is:—

PRAY FOR THE SOVLE OF
IOHN MVLLONEY & PATR
ICK MVLLONEYS
WIFE MARGARET CA
HILL 1761.



The word WIFE is not, however, carved as printed above, but as shown in the figure. Each letter is turned upside down

¹ See *Journal of the Association for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead*. Vol. x, pp. 65-90.

separately without being reversed from side to side. The result of this curious proceeding is that the word can be seen in its proper position by looking at its reflection upside down in a mirror. This reversal, together with the worn condition of the stone, caused some difficulty in recognising the meaning. The reason for carving the word in this manner is not apparent unless, like the building of the Round Towers, it was intended to puzzle posterity.

HENRY S. CRAWFORD.

SUPPLEMENT TO CATALOGUE OF TAVERN TOKENS
PUBLISHED IN *JOURNAL*, VOL. XLVIII., PART II.

1. *Obv.* P. DAWE, KINGSTOWN = A harp of 7 strings between 2d
Rev. + I. C. PARKES + DUBLIN within a circle.
Æ. An octagonal piece.
2. *Obv.*  MOLLOY  2D CHARLEMONT BRIDGE TAVERN In five
lines across the field.
Rev. Blank. (Æ).
3. No. 9 in Original List. There is a variety from the same
obv. die as No. 8.
4. No. 14 in Original List. There is a variety from a
different *obv.* die with I. C. P. under head and
differing from that of Nos. 6 and 15.
5. No. 109 in Original List. A variety reads SIXPENCE.

E. J. FRENCH.

NOTICE OF BOOK

An Irish Peer on the Continent (1801-1803). Edited by
THOMAS U. SADLEIR. (Williams and Norgate. 10s. 6d. net.)

THIS is a journal, in the form of letters, written by a young Irish girl, Miss Catherine Wilmot, describing her tour on the Continent with Lord and Lady Mount Cashell after the Peace of Amiens. The war between England and France had come to an end in the latter part of the year 1801, though peace was not formally concluded until the following March. English visitors flocked to the Continent, especially to Paris, filled with curiosity to see a country that had violently displaced its ancient government and institutions for a new régime in which Buonaparte, as first Consul, was the principal figure.

The party, after visiting France, went on to Italy, and while there England and France again became in a state of war. Catherine Wilmot left her fellow travellers and hurried home to Ireland, travelling through Austria and Germany to Denmark where, from Husum, she embarked for England.

The letters are of remarkable interest; written with a vivacity, originality and a wonderful appreciation of the men and things which the writer saw. In Paris, Naples, Rome and Florence Catherine Wilmot met most of those prominent in the social and political world—Buonaparte and his Generals and Ministers, Talleyrand, Kosciusko; the King and Queen of Naples; Henry Cardinal York, as well as the notorious Earl of Bristol, Bishop of Derry, Canova the Sculptor, Angelica Kauffmann—every one indeed who was conspicuous in the world of fashion, politics and literature, of many of whom she gives us her impressions in delightful little pen-portraits. Buonaparte she saw, from a window of the Tuilleries, reviewing his troops, and at Nôtre Dame at the function of the re-establishment of the Church. She describes a reception and dinner at the Tuilleries, when Madame Buonaparte “sat under a canopy, blazing in purple and diamonds,” Buonaparte himself walking about the room, speaking to everyone. At dinner Miss Wilmot sat between General Grouchy and Talleyrand. The latter she had previously met at the American Ambassador’s, and she gives a telling portrait of him—“his face pale and flat like a cream cheese”—gormandizing for two hours and gobbling like a duck! She was presented to Le

Brun and Cambaceres—"a large fat, swollen-looking brace of Consuls," visited Tom Paine who "complimented us with a clean shirt, and with having his face washed," and met Robert Emmet, who impressed her favourably. She was desirous of meeting him again, but "his extreme prejudice against French society will prevent our meeting him anywhere except at the house of an English gentleman who is soon returning to London." Often she sums up a personal description in a short, crisp sentence. The Princess Borghese, whom we should expect to find a Grande Dame, is dismissed with "as I have nothing better to say of her than that she is a little old woman dressing like a girl and very stupid, I had better say nothing at all"! She describes the Queen of Naples at a Court reception as more like a woman trotting about after her poultry than a Queen; while the King's face "surpasses any abridgement of imbecility I ever saw.'

Catherine Wilmot's descriptions of places and courts are equally telling and vivacious as those which her lively pen gives us of men and women. Her reflections on the Amphitheatre at Nismes conclude with a sentence quite wonderful for a young girl; and excellent too, are her descriptions of an ascent of Vesuvius, with the American lady sitting in the crater, writing a letter to her friends in America—and of the ceremony of a nun taking the veil.

The letters, vivid pictures of men and things, full of humour and never dull, well deserved to be published. The *dramatis personæ* and the circumstances under which the tour was undertaken are described in the Editor's excellent introduction. Many of the persons mentioned in the text of the letters are identified and described in the footnotes, while others are not referred to at all. Some of the notes, too, are unnecessary and might have been omitted.

W. G. S.

PROCEEDINGS

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

Thursday, January 29th, 1920.

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of the Society was held at 63 MERRION SQUARE, DUBLIN, at 5 o'clock p.m.

William Cotter Stubbs, M.A., *Vice-President*, in the chair.

Also present—

Fellows—E. C. R. Armstrong, F. Kennedy Cahill, J. P. D'Alton, Miss Margaret E. Dobbs, W. J. Fawcett, J. J. Fitzgerald, E. J. French, William Fry, Mrs Mary Hutton, L. Kehoe, H. G. Leask, Mrs Geraldine McEnery, M. J. McEnery, Charles McNeill, The Marquis MacSwiney, D. Carolan Rushe, W. G. Strickland, Miss Edyth Warren, H. Bantry White, Robert Lloyd Woolcombe.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed.

THE FOLLOWING AMENDMENT OF THE STATUTES AND BY-LAWS* WERE MADE:

CONSTITUTION

2. The Society shall consist of:—

FELLOWS, HONORARY FELLOWS,
And MEMBERS, who shall be Members of the Body Corporate;

With ASSOCIATE MEMBERS elected before 1920.

ADMISSION, PRIVILEGES AND OBLIGATIONS OF FELLOWS, MEMBERS AND ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

3. FELLOWS shall be elected only at a General Meeting of the Society, on the nomination of the Council with the name of a Fellow or Member as proposer. Each Fellow shall pay an Entrance Fee of £2 and an Annual Subscription of £2, or a Life Composition of £20, which includes the Entrance Fee of £2.

4. HONORARY FELLOWS may be elected by the Society at the Annual General Meeting on the nomination of the Council.

* The purpose of this Amendment is to raise the Annual Subscription of future Fellows from £1 to £2, to raise the Entrance Fee and Annual Subscription of future Members both from 10s. to £1, and to cease electing Associate Members.

5. MEMBERS shall be elected only at a General Meeting of the Society, on the nomination of the Council with the name of a Fellow or Member as proposer. Each Member shall pay an Entrance Fee of £1 and an Annual Subscription of £1, or a Life Composition of £10, including the Entrance Fee.

Repeal the following Rule in italics:—

6. ASSOCIATE MEMBERS *may be elected at a General Meeting of the Society, on the nomination of the Council, with the name of a Fellow, Member, or Associate Member as proposer, and shall pay an annual Subscription of 10s. Associate Members may become Members on paying 10s., the Entrance Fee of Members, in addition to the Annual Subscription of 10s.*

7. The Entrance Fees and first annual Subscriptions of Fellows and Members must be paid either before or on notification of Election. Fellows and Members failing to pay as aforesaid shall be reported at the next General Meeting, and their names removed from the list.

8. Any Fellow who has paid an Annual Subscription for ten consecutive years may become a LIFE FELLOW on payment of a sum of £12.

9. Any Member who has paid an Annual Subscription for ten consecutive years may become a LIFE MEMBER on payment of £8.

10. Any Member who has paid his Life Composition, on being advanced to the rank of Fellow, may become a LIFE FELLOW by paying a sum of £10, which sum includes the Entrance Fee for Fellowship.

Repeal the following Rule in italics:—

11. *Any Member on the roll on the 28th January, 1913, who has paid his Subscription, and is eligible for election, may be elected as a Fellow, on the recommendation of the Council, without payment of any entrance Fee.*

12. All Subscriptions shall be payable in advance on the 1st day of January in each year, or on election. The Subscriptions of Fellows and Members elected at the last meeting of any year may be placed to their credit for the following year. The name of any Fellow, Member, or Associate Member whose Subscription is two years in arrear shall be read out at the Annual General Meeting, and published in the *Journal* of the Society, and the connexion of such person with the Society shall cease, but his liability for moneys due to the Society shall continue.

In par. 13, for "publications," read "volumes."

NEW BY-LAW

Fellows, Members and Associate Members on the roll on the 29th January, 1920, shall be entitled to enjoy the same rights as to subscription and composition as previously were in force for their respective classes.

TRANSITORY PROVISION

The provision by which any Member on the roll on the 28th January, 1913, may be elected as a Fellow without paying any Entrance Fee, shall be extended to any Member or Associate Member elected not later than the Annual General Meeting of 1920.

Such Members, on election as Fellows, shall not be liable to pay any Entrance Fee or any higher rate of Annual Subscription than those elected before 1920—namely, £1 per annum.

Both as regards Members on the roll on the 28th January, 1913, and those elected not later than the Annual General Meeting in January, 1920, this provision shall remain in force up to and including the Summer General Meeting of 1920, and no longer.

The names of Members and of Associate Members to be proposed for election as Fellows under this provision should be forwarded to the Hon. General Secretary at least three weeks before the date either of the Spring or of the Summer General Meeting of 1920, together with the sum of £1, the first Annual Subscription, for each candidate.

The following Fellows and Members were elected:—

FELLOWS

- Adam, James, Orwell Bank, Orwell Park, Rathgar, (*Member*, 1917).
- Aldhouse, Rev. Frederick H., M.A., Grammar School, Drogheda, (*Member*, 1916).
- Atkinson, Ven. Archdeacon E. Dupré, LL.B. (Cantab.), Kilbroney Vicarage, Rostrevor, Co. Down (*Member*, 1890).
- Bagenal, Philip H., O.B.E., 11 Spencer Hill, Wimbledon, London, S.W. 19 (*Member*, 1914).
- Barrett, William, 175 Pershore Road, Cotteridge, Birmingham (*Member*, 1919).
- Barry, Philip Harold, J.P., Ballyellis, Buttevant, Co. Cork (*Associate Member*, 1913).
- Bellew, Hon. Mrs, 20 Cavendish Road, Bournemouth (*Member*, 1902).
- Bompas, Charles S. M., F.S.A. London, F.S.A. Scotland, 121 Westbourne Terrace, London, W. 2 (*Member*, 1906).

- Borbridge, Hugh G., Glenmore, Clonee, Co. Meath (*Member*, 1917).
 Brophy, Michael M., 48 Approach Road, Margate (*Member*, 1893).
 Buckley, J. J., M.R.I.A., National Museum, Dublin (*Member*, 1907).
 Buggy, Michael, Parliament Street, Kilkenny (*Member*, 1884).
 Burrowes, W. B., Ballynaveigh House, Belfast (*Member*, 1918).
 Butler, R. M., F.R.I.B.A., 73 Ailesbury Road, Dublin (*Member* 1911).
 Butler, Rev. Michael, D.D., P.P., Roundwood, Co. Wicklow (*Member*, 1911).
 Cahill, Frank Kennedy, F.R.C.S.I., 80 Merrion Square, Dublin (*Member*, 1918).
 Caldwell, C. H. B., J.P., Antylstown, Navan (*Member*, 1904).
 Callary, Rev. Robert R., St Finian's College, Mullingar (*Member*, 1918).
 Campbell, A. Albert, Drumnaferrie, Rosetta Park, Belfast (*Member*, 1897).
 Cavenagh, Lieut.-Col. W. O., Red House, St. Margaret's-at-Cliffe, Dover (*Member*, 1906).
 Champneys, Arthur C., M.A., 45 Frognal, Hampstead, London, N.W. 3 (*Member*, 1907).
 Coffey, Brian McMahon, 12 Denny Street, Tralee (*Member*, 1918).
 Corcoran, Miss Jessie R., Rotherfield Cottage, Bexhill-on-Sea (*Member* 1899).
 Costello, Thomas Bodkin, M.D., Bishop Street, Tuam (*Member*, 1899, *Hon. Local Secretary*, Galway N.).
 Crone, John S., L.R.C.P.I., M.R.I.A., J.P., Kensal Lodge, Kensal Green, London, N.W. 10 (*Member*, 1893).
 Dagg, T. S. C., M.A., LL.B., 86 Lower Baggot Street, Dublin (*Member*, 1912).
 D'Alton, V. Rev. E. A. Canon, P.P., V.F., St Mary's, Ballinrobe (*Member*, 1917).
 Diskon, W. H., Cong, Co. Mayo (*Associate Member*, 1915).
 Douglas, M. C., Beechville, Carlow (*Member*, 1887).
 Doyle, Michael J., Windgap N. S., Kilkenny (*Member*, 1897).
 Dwyer, Rev. Joseph, B.A., C.C., University Church, St Stephen's Green, Dublin (*Member*, 1917).
 Drury, Henry C., M.D., 48 Fitzwilliam Square, Dublin (*Member*, 1918).
 Eeles, Francis C., F.R. HIST. SOC., F.S.A., SCOT., 43 Grosvenor Road, London, S.W. 1 (*Member*, 1904).
 Fairholm, Miss Caroline G., Comragh, Kilmacthomas, Co. Waterford (*Member*, 1912).

- Falconer, R. A., 53 Upper Sackville Street, Dublin (*Associate Member*, 1915).
- Faren, William, 11 Mount Charles, Belfast (*Member*, 1897).
- Farrell, Rev. William B.A., c.c., 48 Westland Row, Dublin (*Member*, 1919).
- Fielding, P. J., F.C.S., 66 St Patrick Street, Cork (*Member*, 1908).
- FitzGerald, John J., M.D., Mill House, Cork (*Member*, 1908).
- Fleming, J. S., F.S.A., SCOT., 9 Douglas Terrace, Stirling (*Member*, 1908).
- Fox, Major The, late Royal Irish Rifles, Galtrim House, Summerhill, Co. Meath (*Member*, 1917).
- Fox Rev. Arthur W., M.A., 9 Garden Street, Todmorden, Lancs. (*Member*, 1904).
- Gamble, Charles H., Killiney Lodge, Ballybrack, Co. Dublin (*Member*, 1919).
- Geoghegan, Joseph A., Ballinteer, Dundrum, Co. Dublin (*Member*, 1913).
- Gibson, V. Rev. T. B., A.M., Dean of Ferns, The Deanery, Ferns (*Member*, 1897).
- Glynn, W. J., J.P., Pella House, Kilrush (*Member*, 1897).
- Graham, Rev. T. J., c.c., 85 Iona Road, Drumcondra, Dublin (*Member*, 1917).
- Green, Lieut.-Col. J. S., M.B., M.R.I.A., Air Hill, Glanworth, Co. Cork (*Member*, 1907).
- Green, Mrs A. S., 90 S. Stephen's Green, Dublin (*Member*, 1910).
- Guinness, Howard, Chesterfield, Blackrock, Dublin (*Member*, 1895).
- Hales, Mrs M. F., 5 Charleville Circus, Sydenham (*Member*, 1895).
- Halpenny, P. J., Ulster Bank, Mullingar (*Member*, 1919).
- Hayes, Rev. W. A., M.A., The Deanery, Londonderry (*Member*, 1889).
- Healy, James J., 16 Kenilworth Square, Rathgar (*Associate Member*, 1913; *Member*, 1918).
- Healy, Ven. Archdeacon, LL.D., Rectory, Drakestown, Navan (*Member*, 1888, *Hon. Local Secretary*, Meath).
- Hibbert, R. F., Woodpark, Scariff, Co. Clare (*Member*, 1919).
- Hill, W. H., F.R.I.A.I., Monteville, Cork (*Member*, 1910).
- Jackson, Rev. Robert, Abbeyleix, Queen's Co. (*Member*, 1918).
- Kehoe, Laurence, Mill Street, Tullow, Co. Carlow (*Member*, 1908).
- Kehoe, Mrs R. L., 8 Anglesea Road, Dublin (*Member*, 1919).
- Kelly, R. J., K.C., J.P., (*Member*, 1891, *Hon. Provincial Secretary*, Connacht).

- Knight, George, Lackanash, Trim (*Member*, 1916).
- Langan, J., 41 Pembroke Road, Dublin (*Member*, 1919).
- Lawlor, Rev. Professor H. J., Canon, D.D., LITT.D., 32 Palmerston Road, Dublin (*Member*, 1891).
- Leask, Harold Graham, Office of Public Works, Stephen's Green (*Member*, 1910).
- Lee, Philip George, M.D., St. Patrick's Hill, Cork (*Member*, 1909).
- Lefroy, B. St. George, Baldonnell House, Clondalkin, Co. Dublin (*Member*, 1908).
- Lepper, R. S., Elsinore, Crawfordsburn, Co. Down (*Member*, 1918).
- Lyons, Head Constable Patrick, R.I.C., Newport, Co. Mayo (*Member*, 1905).
- McBride, Joseph N., Harbour Office, Westport (*Member*, 1894).
- McCance, Captain Stoupe, 4 Markham Square, London, S.W. 3 (*Associate Member*, 1915; *Member*, 1918).
- MacClancy, James, Miltown Malbay, Co. Clare (*Member*, 1900).
- McCarthy, James, Clancarty, Newfoundwell, Drogheda (*Member*, 1904).
- McConnell, John, J.P., College Green House, Belfast (*Member*, 1899).
- McEnery, Mrs, Glandore, Highfield Road, Rathgar (*Member*, 1912).
- MacGarry, Charles James, LL.D., 124 Rock Road, Booterstown (*Member*, 1916).
- McKnight, John P., Nevara, Temple Gardens, Palmerston Road, Dublin (*Member*, 1890).
- Macmillan, Rev. John, D.D., Dinanew House, Raven Hill Road, Belfast (*Member*, 1894).
- Macnamara, Donagh W., Corrofin, Co. Clare.
- Macnamara, Lieut.-Col. John W., M.A., M.D., Corrofin, Co. Clare (*Member*, 1918).
- MacSwiney, Mrs Miriam, 12 Cranley Place, London, S.W. 7 (*Member*, 1919).
- Mahony, T. H., 8 Adelaide Place, St Luke's, Cork (*Member*, 1895).
- Mason, Thomas H., 5 Dame Street, Dublin (*Member*, 1906).
- Montgomery, A. R. W., Colesberg, Herbert Road, Bray (*Associate Member*, 1914).
- Montgomery, R. V., 13 Molesworth Street, Dublin (*Member*, 1892).
- Moore, G., 5 Mardyke Villas, Mardyke, Cork (*Member*, 1917).
- Murphy, John J., 6 Mount Edgcumbe, Stranmillis Road, Belfast (*Member*, 1895).

- Murray, Bruce, Portland, Limerick (*Member*, 1910).
- Nash, Lieut.-Col. Edward, J.P., 94 Piccadilly, London, W. (*Member*, 1889).
- Nolan, Very Rev. John, P.P., V.F., Toomebridge, Co. Antrim (*Member*, 1902).
- O'Conchobhair, Domhnall, 15 Hollybank Road, Drumcondra, Dublin (*Member*, 1903).
- O'Grady, Major Guillamore, M.A., 49 Fitzwilliam Square, Dublin (*Member*, 1908).
- O'Hanrahan, Timothy Williams, J.P., Altamont, Kilkenny (*Member*, 1889).
- Ormsby, Robert D., Ballynamote, Carrickmines, Co. Dublin (*Member*, 1912).
- Orpen, Goddard H., J.P., Monk's Grange, Enniscorthy (*Member*, 1887).
- O'Ryan, Miss Elizabeth, The Square, Youghal (*Member*, 1916).
- Pim, Miss E. M., Newton Park, Waterford (*Member*, 1900).
- Place, Thomas Dumayne, Rosemount House, New Ross (*Member*, 1903).
- Potts, Rev. John, Grange Silvae, Goresbridge (*Member*, 1917).
- Prochazka, Baroness, Leyrath, Kilkenny (*Member*, 1902).
- Purcell, Rev. Thomas F., O.P., Black Abbey, Kilkenny (*Member*, 1919).
- Quekett, Arthur Scott, 55 Wellington Road, Dublin (*Member*, 1917).
- Quinn, Augustine, The Beeches, Liscard, Cheshire (*Member*, 1908).
- Read, Mrs Genevieve, Hibernian Bank, Camden Street, Dublin (*Associate Member*, 1916).
- Redington, Miss Matilda, Kilcornan, Clarinbridge, Co. Galway (*Member*, 1892).
- Robertson, Hume, 26 Porchester Terrace, London, W. 2 (*Member*, 1902).
- Rogers, Very Rev. Monsignor, 756 Mission Street, St Patrick's Church, San Francisco, California, U.S.A.
- Rotherham, E. Crofton, Belview, Crossakiel, Co. Meath (*Member*, 1894).
- Sadleir, Thomas U., 51 Lansdowne Road, Dublin (*Member*, 1919).
- Shackleton, George, J.P., Anna Liffey House, Lucan, Co. Dublin (*Member*, 1896).
- Shaw, Thomas J., J.P., La Mancha, Mullingar (*Member*, 1898).
- Sherwin, Rev. James P., University Church, St Stephen's Green, Dublin.
- Sinclair, Thomas, 18 Castle Lane, Belfast (*Member*, 1909).

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- Smith, Blair, J.P., Errigal House, Laurence Hill, Londonderry
(*Member*, 1902).
- Smith, Miss Isabella, 30 Clarinda Park, E., Kingstown, Co.
Dublin (*Member*, 1909).
- Smyth, E. W., J.P., 7 St Stephen's Green, Dublin (*Member*, 1893).
- Swanzy, Rev. Henry Biddulph, M.A., M.R.I.A., The Vicarage, Newry
(*Member*, 1901).
- Tenison, Arthur H. Ryan, F.R.I.B.A., 32 Bath Road, Bedford Park,
Chiswick, W. 4 (*Member*, 1901).
- Traill, William A., M.A.ING., Portballintrae, Bushmills, Co.
Antrim (*Member*, 1883, *Hon. Local Secretary*, Antrim N.).
- Walsh, M. S., L.R.C.P.I., L.R.C.S.I., 24 North Frederick Street,
Dublin (*Associate Member*, 1914).
- Warren, Miss Edyth G., 1 Raglan Road, Dublin (*Member*, 1905).
- Warren, Miss Mary Helen, 1 Raglan Road, Dublin (*Member*,
1905).
- Waters, Eaton W., M.B., M.A.O., J.P., Brideweir, Conna, Co. Water-
ford (*Member*, 1917).
- West, Captain Erskine E., Barrister-at-Law, Shoyswell, High-
field Road, Dublin (*Member*, 1918).
- White, Colonel J. Grove, C.M.G., D.L., Kilbyrne, Doneraile, Co.
Cork (*Member*, 1883).
- White, Lieut.-Col. S. R. L., Scotch Rath, Dalkey (*Member*, 1910).
- Whitfield, Captain George, Modreeny, Cloughjordan, Co.
Tipperary (*Member*, 1901).
- Wild, George H., 5 Churchill Terrace, Ballsbridge, Dublin
(*Member*, 1917).
- Wilkinson, George, Ringlestown, Navan (*Member*, 1902).
- Young, Rev. Thomas E., M.A., Aghold Rectory, Coolkenno, Co.
Wicklow (*Member*, 1907).

MEMBERS

- Chaytor, Charles H., 13 Molesworth Street, Dublin.
- Cole, J. A., M.A., Inspector of Schools, Cavan.
- Connolly, W. P. J., Greenwood, 68 Merrion Road, Dublin.
- Connolly, Mrs. W. P. J., Greenwood, 68 Merrion Road, Dublin.
- Coulter, Francis Clements, 16 Lower Fitzwilliam Street, Dublin.
- Fannin, Edward M., M.B., L.M., 3 Rutland Square, Dublin.
- Hayden, Miss Mary T., M.A., Professor of Modern Irish History,
University College, Dublin.
- Knight, Captain W. M. Lackanash, Trim.
- Love, Oscar, 86 Carnot Terrace, South Circular Road, Kilmain-
ham, Dublin.

Lowry-Corry, Lady Dorothy, Castle Coole, Enniskillen (*Associate Member*, 1915).

Shackleton, Mrs Mary L., Ivydene, 30 Park Avenue, Sandymount, Dublin.

Wilson, Miss Florence, Nightingale Hall, Wellington Place, Dublin.

FELLOWS.

Alment, Rev W. F., B.D., 49 Carysfort Avenue, Blackrock (*Member*, 1891).

Cardew, William Gordon, Marino House, Killiney, Co. Dublin.

Cunningham, Miss M. E., Glencairn, Belfast (*Member*, 1895).

Devane, Rev Professor Richard, St. Patrick's College, Thurles.

Fay, H. E. J., 53 Moyne Road, Rathmines (*Member*, 1919).

Foley, J. M., Galway, M.P., Ballintober House, Nenagh (*Member*, 1896).

FitzHenry, Rev R., P.P., Lady's Island, Broadway, Co. Wexford.

Frost, John G., Newmarket-on-Fergus, Co. Clare (*Member*, 1910).

Garty, John, Bellair Cottage, Killiney, Co. Dublin (*Associate Member*, 1914).

Gilmartin, Most Rev. Thomas, D.D., Archbishop of Tuam, Tuam, Co. Galway (*Member*, 1919).

Giron, Louis F., 5 Charleville Road N.C.Rd., Dublin (*Member*, 1918).

Griffith, P. J., 128 Cabra Park, Phibsboro, Dublin (*Member*, 1902).

Hargrave, Miss Jennette, M.D., 2 Sandwich Villas, Huntingdon (*Member*, 1909).

Headen, W. P., La Bergérie, Portarlinton (*Member*, 1891).

Headen, James, M.A., Inspector of Schools, Longford.

Joyce, W. B., B.A., 29 Rathmines Road, Dublin (*Member*, 1909).

Langan, Very Rev Thomas Canon, D.D., P.P., St. Patrick's Moate (*Life Member*, 1890).

Librarian, Reform Club, Pall Mall, London, S.W. 1 (*Member*, 1901).

Lough, Rt. Hon. Thomas, M.P., H.M.L., 97 Ashley Gardens, London, S.W. (*Member*, 1889).

Lovegrove, E. W., Ruthin School, N. Wales (*Member*, 1896).

Lucas, Rev. F. I., D.D., 2 Cliff Terrace, Kingstown.

McBride, Francis, J.P., 39 Grosvenor Square, Rathmines (*Member* 1894).

MacDonagh, Thomas J., 7 St Alphonsus Road, Dublin (*Member*, 1916).

MacPhail George, F.S.A. (SCOT.), F.L.S., Hearnesebrooke, Co. Galway.

- MacSorley, Miss C. M., 6 Harcourt Terrace (*Member*, 1917).
 Moorhead, Alexander, 53 Whitworth Road, Dublin (*Member*, 1918).
 O'Morcho, Rev., The, Kilternan Rectory, Co. Dublin (*Member*, 1891).
 Nichols, James, 85 Ranelagh Road, Dublin (*Member*, 1904).
 Nichols, Miss Edith M., 85 Ranelagh Road, Dublin (*Associate Member*, 1914).
 Nichols, Miss Muriel E., 85 Ranelagh Road, Dublin (*Associate Member*, 1914).
 O'Leary, Very Rev Dean, P.P., V.G., St. John's, Tralee (*Member*, 1903).
 O'Reilly, George, 26 Trinity Street, Drogheda (*Member*, 1908).
 Ryan, Rev. James, The Hermitage, Cabrah, Thurles.
 Scott, J. R., D.L., Willsboro', Londonderry (*Member*, 1918).
 Small, John F., 37 Hill Street, Newry (*Member*, 1893).
 Smyth, Robert Wolfe, J.P., Portlick Castle, Athlone (*Member*, 1895).
 Thompson, Rev. Hugh W. B., St. Catherine's Rectory, South Circular Road, Dublin (*Member*, 1918).
 Waddell, John J. H., Ardnacree, Dalkey (*Member*, 1907).
 Walsh, Thomas Arnold, Adrivale, Kilmallock, Co. Limerick (*Member*, 1918).
 Wilkinson, Wilfred, F.S., F.R. MET. SOC., F.S.S., Irvinestown, Co. Fermanagh (*Member*, 1918).

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1919.

THE work of the Society during the past year was conducted under somewhat improved conditions as compared with the years immediately preceding. The various meetings were duly held according to the programme adopted at the Annual General Meeting, and the Council is glad to be able to report that the Connacht Summer Meeting was, notwithstanding some difficulty in providing vehicles, a successful celebration of this important part of the programme. Miss M. Redington, Mr M. J. Tighe, and Dr Costello, who undertook, in several departments, the organising of the arrangements, left nothing undone to insure that the meeting would be amongst the most interesting and agreeable of those held in recent years. The special thanks of the Society are due to them for this great service. The Society's thanks are due also to those who received the members with generous hospitality and kindness in every district visited; to Mrs Daly, Miss Redington, and Mr Edward Martyn, by whom the party was entertained at Tillyra Castle; to

Mr and Lady Philippa Waithman, by whom they were entertained at Merlin Park; to the Rt Rev Dr Plunket, Bishop of Tuam, and Mrs Plunket, by whom they were entertained at Tuam; to Mr J. Smyth and the Misses Smyth, by whom they were entertained at Masonbrook; to Mr MacDonagh, who kindly placed his motor launch at the Society's disposal; to the V. Rev. the Prior and Community, St Augustine's, Galway, who gave the use of the Augustinian Hall; to the V. Rev. the Prior and Community, St Dominick's, who exhibited a valuable collection of church plate and embroidery; and to Canon Berry, who conducted the party over the Church of St Nicholas.

The Council regrets that by the death of Viscount Gough, who, at some personal inconvenience, received the party at Lough Cutra Castle, the Society has lost a distinguished member.

At the beginning of October, a visit was paid to Glendaloch; the party had the great advantage of being guided by Mr H. G. Leask, by whom the salient features of the buildings were explained. The other meetings were held as arranged, and the following communications were received:—

The Ancient Places of Assembly in the Counties of Limerick and Clare. By the PRESIDENT.

The Bell Shrine of S. Seanan. By E. C. R. ARMSTRONG, Fellow.

Notes on a Copy of the Dublin Book of Common Prayer, traditionally stated to have belonged to the Irish House of Commons. By W. G. STRICKLAND, Fellow.

On Irish Farthing Tokens. By H. C. DRURY, M.D., Member.

* *An Account of the Ecclesiastical Remains at Corcomroe and Kilmacduagh.* By the PRESIDENT.

* *Notes on the Castle Churches and other Antiquities of Athenry.* By MISS M. REDINGTON, Member.

* *Notes on Some of the More Interesting Antiquities of Galway City.* By M. J. TIGHE, Fellow.

* Specially contributed at the Connacht Summer Meeting.

Illustrations of Early Public Documents of Ireland; with references to some Popular Fallacies corrected by the Records. By M. J. McENERY, Fellow.

On the Altar and Mural Monuments in Sligo Dominican Friary. By H. S. CRAWFORD, Member.

The Promontory Forts of Western Co. Cork—Beare and Bantry. By the PRESIDENT.

The State Coaches of the City of Dublin and of the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Clare. By W. G. STRICKLAND, Fellow.

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There were 10 ordinary and special meetings of the Council during 1919, at which the attendances were:—

T. J. WESTROPP, <i>President</i>	7	SIR WM. FRY ...	6
PROFESSOR MACALISTER, <i>V.P.</i>	1	SIR LUCAS W. KING ...	4
WILLIAM C. STUBBS, <i>V.P.</i>	3	A. ROBINSON ...	6
HERBERT WOOD, <i>V.P.</i> ...	7	JOHN COOKE ...	4
P. J. LYNCH, <i>V.P.</i> ...	2	MISS M. E. DOBBS ...	3
G. D. BURTCHALL, <i>V.P.</i> ...	4	MRS M. A. HUTTON ...	3
CHARLES McNEILL, <i>Hon.</i>	10	P. J. O'REILLY ...	8
<i>Gen. Sec.</i>		E. C. R. ARMSTRONG ...	8
H. BANTRY WHITE, <i>Hon.</i>	5	COL. R. CLAUDE CANE ...	4
<i>Treas.</i> (Resigned 30 Sept.)		J. P. DALTON ...	5
R. J. KELLY ...	4	LORD WALTER FITZGERALD	7
H. G. LEASK ...	3	M. J. McENERY ...	8
J. J. BUCKLEY ...	8	N. J. SYNNOTT ...	2

The Council has to announce with extreme regret that Mr. Charles McNeill is retiring from the position of Honorary General Secretary of the Society, which he has held since January, 1914. He has aided and furthered the Society's work and aims with the greatest devotion and enthusiasm, and the Council is certain that the Society will feel that its very best thanks are a most inadequate recognition of such valuable services as he has given.

In the transfer of the Society's meeting place and offices from St. Stephen's Green to Merrion Square he bore the chief part, and the new premises will remain a monument to his love for the Society.

The Council desires to place on record its high appreciation of the services of Mr H. Bantry White, *i.s.o.*, as Hon Treasurer during the past five years. The Council has already conveyed to Mr White its regret at his resignation, and its grateful recognition of his care and attention for the Society's interests during the period of exceptional difficulty in which he held office. The Council is assured that these sentiments will be shared by the members generally.

In accordance with the Statutes the Council appointed Mr E. C. R. Armstrong to be Hon. Treasurer in room of Mr White.

The following nominations have been made for the several offices to be filled by election at the Annual General Meeting:—

PRESIDENT:—

MICHAEL JOSEPH McENERY,

Deputy Keeper of the Records in Ireland.

VICE-PRESIDENTS :—

ULSTER—MOST REV. JOHN BAPTIST CROZIER, D.D.,
Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland.
CHARLES McNEILL.

LEINSTER—RICHARD LANGRISHE, J.P.

MUNSTER—HENRY BANTRY WHITE, I.S.O.
WILLIAM W. A. FITZGERALD, M.A.

CONNACHT—THOMAS BODKIN COSTELLO, M.D.
SIR WILLIAM FRY, D.L.

HON. GENERAL SECRETARY :—

HAROLD G. LEASK.

HON. TREASURER :—

E. C. R. ARMSTRONG, F.S.A.

MEMBERS OF COUNCIL :—

H. S. CRAWFORD, B.E., *Member*.

T. G. H. GREEN, *Fellow*.

PROFESSOR R. A. S. MACALISTER, LITT.D., *Fellow*.

W. G. STRICKLAND, *Fellow*.

As no nominations have been made in excess of the vacancies existing, the foregoing are to be declared elected to their several offices.

The Council is glad to be able to report that the number of members has been well maintained; and it is hoped that, with the re-establishing of general peace and more favourable conditions, it may be possible, within a reasonable time, to resume the quarterly issue of the *Journal*, and, eventually, to undertake additional publications.

The following changes in membership took place :—

Three Members were promoted to the rank of Fellow; two Fellows and thirty-seven Members were elected; three Associate Members were admitted to Corporate Membership; ten Members and four Associate Members resigned; eight names were removed from the Roll under Rule 11, but may be reinstated as provided in the Rule. The deaths notified were twenty-one.

OBITUARY NOTICES

MGR. JEROME FAHEY, D.D., V.G., was elected a Member in 1890, promoted Fellow in 1909, and Vice-President from 1910 to 1913. He was also Hon. Local Secretary for South Galway. From an early age Father Fahey took a keen interest in the history and antiquities of our country, and when he attained

a position of influence he endeavoured by word and example to encourage others in the prosecution of antiquarian research, placing his intimate knowledge of local antiquities at the service of all enquirers. Appointed Parish Priest of Gort and Vicar-General of the ancient diocese of Kilmacduagh, he directed his interest to the study of the life of its founder, and of the interesting group of "Seven Churches" which retains his name. He published in 1893 the *History of the Diocese of Kilmacduagh*, which although chiefly an ecclesiastical record, also includes the history of local monuments and of the ancient families connected with them. As Local Secretary he made a report on the Church of St John Baptist at Kilmacduagh in the *Journal*, Vol. XXIII, and on the occasion of the Society's visits to Connaught in 1901 and 1904, he prepared for the use of the members notes on the antiquities of the district, which were published in Vols. XXXI and XXXIV. Other papers of his were "The Flight of the O'Flaherties to Connaught," Vol. XXVII; "Shrines of Inis-an-Ghoill," Vol. XXXI; "Kilmacduagh: its Ecclesiastical Monuments," Vol. XXXIV; "Crests of the Chieftains of Hy Fiachrach Aidne," Vol. XXXVIII.

For many years Mgr. Fahey was in failing health. He died March 12th 1919.

THE RIGHT HON. HUGH 3RD VISCOUNT GOUGH, K.C.V.O., Vice-President, was grandson of the 1st Viscount Gough, the Field-Marshal whose brilliant victories in India resulted in the annexation of the Panjab to the British Dominions. He was educated at Eton and Brasenose College, Oxford, where he proceeded to the degree of M.A. in 1878. In 1873 he entered the Diplomatic Service and held several important posts, finally becoming Minister Resident at Dresden in 1901, where he remained until 1907. He was elected a Fellow of the Society in 1912, and was Vice-President for Connaught 1913-1916, and again in 1919. In the history and preservation of the antiquities of Gort and the surrounding district he took a very keen interest, and Mr Rait acknowledges the help he received from him in his *Story of an Irish Property*.

DR GEORGE UNTHANK MACNAMARA, LL.D., Honoris Causa, National University, and Vice-President of the Society for the Province of Munster, will be remembered for his whole-hearted interest in the recording of the early remains in Co. Clare. He was the son of Dr Michael Macnamara and of Eliza Unthank, his wife, a member of an old Quaker family in the city of Limerick. The branch of the ancient Ui Caisin to which he traced his paternal descent had, as matters settled after the Cromwellian confiscations

of 1655, lived at Ballygirvana and Drumbonnive and, later, at Creevagh and Ballymarkahan, in sight of the Abbey of Quin. The representative, in 1749, sold the older estates of Derryvet to the Stammers. The two doctors had a long record of service in the Corofin district and consequent minute and intimate knowledge of its inhabitants, from the wealthy squire to the very poorest people sheltering in the dolmens on the limestone plateaux of the Burren. George Macnamara's interest grew until he was a veritable encyclopaedia of reference to the early remains, the folk lore and the history of his primitive and most interesting district. A man of an original and independent spirit, it was only the severe demands upon his time that made his work appear rather in the books and papers of others than in those under his own name. The too few papers published by him bear the mark of deep thought and wide research. Besides many notes, he published in the *Journal*, from the time when he joined the Society in 1894, his principal works for archaeology. These recorded his discovery of the long removed and unique tau cross, marking the termon of Kilnaboy, which, in 1894, he restored and reset in its ancient base at his own expense; his discovery of the site and remains of the "Ascetics Church" by following the indication of its only record in the Cathreim Thoirdealbaig in 1897, an elaborate paper on "the Ancient Stone Crosses of Ui Fermaic," 1900; notes on "Torlough O'Brien of Fomerla"; on a 17th century "bronze pot, found near Lisdoonvarna"; on Findclu, daughter of Baoith, the patroness of Kilnaboy, one on Tomfinlough Church, 1908, with valuable accounts of Quin, Dromoland and Bunratty in our 7th Antiquarian Handbook, in 1916. The following year he was elected Fellow and Vice-President, having been local Secretary for North Clare since 1896. To the *Proceedings* of the Limerick Field Club he contributed; Vol I, a legend of Skaghvickencrow; II, the Monuments at Quin; Loch Forgas; Letters from an Exile (O'Huonyn, 1750-67); North Munster Archaeol. Soc., I, Continuation of the Letters III, Bunratty, a very valuable monograph. His health, at times, much broken, and tried by his unsparing visiting of his poor patients scattered over a wild district, gave way and his life was saddened by the loss of his second son, Lieut. Maccon Macnamara, who fell, gallantly trying to rescue one of his fellow soldiers, in the "great push" of the Germans, in March 1918, and whose fate for nearly a year remained doubtful. Dr Macnamara died on 18 November 1919, and was buried in the old church of Coad (which he had partly repaired and near which he had re-erected its great pillar stone), leaving to all an honoured memory and a record of duty and self-sacrifice.

THOMAS PLUNKETT, Vice-President, first became a Member of the Society in 1870, and for close on half a century took an active interest in its proceedings; he was particularly helpful on the occasion of the Society's visits to Ulster. His conspicuous services during the visit to the district of Enniskillen in 1887 are recorded in the *Journal* of the time, and he was soon afterwards appointed Hon. Local Secretary for Co. Fermanagh, which office he filled usefully until his death. His modesty prevented for a long time further recognition until being promoted to Fellowship, he was elected a Vice-President for Ulster at the Annual General Meeting of 1918. His labours in the field of Archaeology were largely shaped by his connection with the Royal Geological Society of Ireland, an association which did some valuable work about the middle of the last century, and it was thus that he was directed principally to the exploration and description of prehistoric remains. He contributed to the *Journal* in 1876 an account of the physical characteristics of Topped Mountain, Co. Fermanagh, where several cairns had been found, and at different times similar notes, including one on an urn cemetery at Gortnacor, Co. Antrim, in 1904. The *Proceedings* of the Royal Irish Academy, of which he was elected a Member in 1880, contain several communications from him on prehistoric remains and cave exploration in the Counties of Fermanagh and Cavan; and the Academy's Collection has been enriched by many of his acquisitions of stone, flint and bronze implements and weapons and of animal remains from the caves. During the drainage of Lough Erne many objects were found near Enniskillen, and a considerable number came into Mr Plunkett's possession. In 1892, when he was Chairman of the Enniskillen Urban Council, he purchased a small shrine recovered by fishermen, which was described by the Rev. D. Murphy, S.J., and illustrated in the Academy's *Proceedings*. In the social life of Enniskillen he at all times showed himself a good citizen. His public spirit and high sense of honour were recognised by all parties and won him general esteem, and a monument erected in Fort Hill Park, Enniskillen, commemorates his action in having that place of recreation opened to the public.

He died 9th November, 1919.

PROFESSOR ERNST WINDISCH, who died at Leipzig on October 30th 1918, was one of the oldest Members of our Society, having been elected in 1872. In 1870-1, being in London, engaged on the catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. at the India Office, he made the acquaintance of Standish H. O'Grady, who initiated him into the study of the Irish language, and on a visit to Ireland he met

Whitley Stokes, afterwards his life-long friend. He spent the greater part of his long and industrious life as Professor of Sanskrit at Leipzig. His contributions to Sanskrit and Pali are numerous and important—at least 300 have been enumerated—and for many years he was the editor of the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. In these islands, however, it is as a Celtic scholar he is best known. He was an inspiring teacher and trained several brilliant Celtic scholars. To enumerate fully his Irish papers would occupy much space. His *Concise Old Irish Grammar* (1879) was, for several generations of students, the sole available manual. His *Irische Texte* (1880) still remains the most valuable repertory of early Irish texts, and the Glossary appended contains over 7,000 articles, and is the most complete lexicon of the older language yet published. Besides minor sagas, he published in 1905 his stately edition of our oldest epic *Táin Bó Cuailnge* from the Book of Leinster and other MSS., with a spirited translation and a full glossary. It is a work of immense learning, upon which he had been engaged for upwards of twenty years. It was followed in 1912 by an edition of the Egerton text, with which his purely Irish work came to a fitting close. *Das Keltische Britannien* (1912), a work of great freshness and interest, appealed to a wider circle. When death overtook him he was busy with the proofs of a *History of Sanskrit Philology*. Those who had the privilege of meeting him will treasure the remembrance of a refined and gentle nature, free from all bitterness and self-esteem.

The membership is now 850, distributed as follows:—

Honorary Fellows	...	...	...	10
Life Fellows	...	...	...	51
Fellows	...	...	...	135
Life Members	...	...	...	47
Members	...	...	...	568
Associate Members	...	...	...	39

FINANCE

The total receipts in 1919 were £739 0s. 10d., as against £689 9s. 2d. in 1918, £608 15s. 11d. in 1917, and £666 16s. 8d. in 1916.

Subscription revenue, including entrance and life compositions, amounted to £517, being £10 over 1918, £41 over 1917 and £67 over 1916.

Miscellaneous receipts produced £222 0s. 10d., of which £84 3s. 6d. was derived from rents of portion of the Society's premises.

The total expenditure was £682 1s. 11d., the difference between which and £739 0s. 10d. received as above, namely £56 18s. 11d., has gone to reduce the authorised overdraft which at 31 December, 1919, stood at £206 13s. 10d., as against £263 12s. 9d. at the end of 1918. This overdraft was incurred to complete the cost of purchasing and fitting up the Society's new premises.

Whilst these figures show that the financial position of the Society is sound, it has been necessary, as the members are aware, for several years past to exercise a vigilant economy and to contract somewhat the Society's operations. After a very careful survey of present circumstances and the prospects of the future, the Council arrived at the conclusion that the existing rates of subscription would not provide for the future an income sufficient to maintain the Society efficiently, in consequence of the great advance in the cost of all items of outlay. A Circular was, therefore, issued by the President to the Members in December, intimating that proposals would be made at the Annual General Meeting to increase the Annual Subscription of Fellows to £2, and the Entrance Fee to remain £2 as heretofore, and to increase the Annual Subscription of Members to £1 with an Entrance Fee of £1. The Council does not propose to interfere with the status and liabilities of existing Members, who, if they so desire, shall have the right to remain subject to the present rate of subscription; but it was suggested in the Circular that existing Members and Associate Members who found themselves in a position to contribute more liberally might conveniently do so by becoming Fellows as provided by the Statutes in the case of Members on the roll at 28 January, 1913. This provision they propose to extend to all Members and Associate Members admitted since and at the Annual General Meeting of 1920. It seems to them, however, advisable that the privilege should not be continued either for those on the roll at 28 January, 1913, or for those subsequently elected, after the Summer General Meeting of 1920, thus leaving a further period of about six months for consideration.

SESSIONAL PROGRAMME

The province of Leinster being the next in order for a Summer Meeting, the Council recommends that the centre should be fixed at Wexford, which will be a convenient starting-point from which to visit many places of great interest.

The following Sessional Programme is submitted:—

PLACE	DATE	REMARKS
Dublin .	Wednesday, 23 Jan. .	Reception by President and Council
„ .	Thursday, 29 „ .	Annual General Meeting
„ .	Tuesday, 24 Feb. .	Evening Meeting for Papers
„ .	„ 30 Mar. .	„ „
„ .	„ 27 April .	Quarterly Meeting
—	27 July .	Summer Meeting
Dublin .	Tuesday, 23 Sept. .	Quarterly Meeting
„ .	„ 26 Oct. .	Evening Meeting
„ .	„ 30 Nov. .	„ „
„ .	„ 14 Dec. .	Statutory Meeting

LIST OF MEMBERS ADVANCED TO THE RANK OF FELLOW, AND OF FELLOWS AND MEMBERS ELECTED IN 1919

FELLOWS

Andrews, Michael Corbet, F.R.G.S., F.R.S.G.S., 17 University Square, Belfast (*Member*, 1910).

Cooper, Bryan Ricco, D.L., Markree Castle, Collooney.

Credin, David, Sapper R.E., Gortmore, Fivemiletown, Co. Tyrone (*Member*, 1910).

O'Connell, Philip, M.Sc., N.U.I., 20 Mary Street, Clonmel.

Whitworth, Mrs Mary, Blackrock, Dundalk (*Member*, 1902).

MEMBERS

Barrett, William, 223 Stoney Lane, Sparkbrook, Birmingham.

Butler, Theobald Blake, Armadale, Barrow-in-Furness.

Byrne, Rev. Edward J., C.C., B.A., 83 Marlborough Street, Dublin.

Byrne, Mrs, 17 Merrion Square, Dublin.

Carolan, Miss Mary, 7 Clareville Road, Rathgar.

Conway, William M., 24 South Great George's Street, Dublin.

Dwane, David Thomas, Ash Hill Cottage, Kilmallock.

Eccles, Cuthbert, L.R.C.P.&S.I., Delgany, Co. Wicklow.

Egan, Patrick Joseph, J.P., Clunagh House, Tullamore.

Farrell, Rev. W. M., C.C., B.A., 48 Westland Row, Dublin.

Fay, Henry Edward Joseph, 53 Moyne Road, Rathmines.

- Gamble, Charles, B.A., Killiney Lodge, Ballybrack, Co. Dublin.
 Gilmartin, Most Rev. Thomas, D.D., Archbishop of Tuam, Tuam.
 Halpenny, Michael, L.R.C.P.I., L.R.C.S.I., Tirkeenan, Monaghan,
(Associate Member, 1915).
 Halpenny, P. J., Ulster Bank, Monaghan.
 Hibbert, Robert Fiennes, Woodpark, Scariff, Co. Clare.
 Irwin, Miss Patricia A., 180 Peel Street, Montreal, Canada.
 Johnston, Major B. L., Dominion Bank, Toronto, Canada.
 Kehoe, Mrs R. L., 8 Anglesea Road, Balisbridge, Dublin.
 Langan, J., 41 Pembroke Road, Dublin.
 McCabe, V. Rev. Joseph Louis, o.c.c., The Priory, Aungier
 Street, Dublin.
 McDonagh, Thomas, Salthill, Galway.
 MacSwiney, Mrs Miriam F., 12 Cranley Place, London.
 Mason, Miss Harriette, 35 Pembroke Road, Dublin.
 Molloy, Mrs Ida Greene, 37 Marlborough Road, Dublin.
 Nichols, Miss Edith, 85 Ranelagh Road, Dublin (*Associate
 Member, 1914*).
 Nichols, Miss Muriel, 85 Ranelagh Road, Dublin (*Associate
 Member, 1914*).
 Nolan, Daniel J., Ulster Bank, Castlereagh.
 O'Hare, Patrick J., M.B., Highfield, 7 Broompark Circus, Dennistoun,
 Glasgow.
 O'Hare, Thomas Alphonsus, 25 Circus Drive, Dennistoun,
 Glasgow.
 O'Kelly, J. J., M.B., B.S., 53 Rathgar Road, Dublin.
 Peacocke, Col. William, late R.E., c.m.g., 17 Vescey Place, Kings-
 town.
 Purcell, Rev. Thomas F., o.p., Black Abbey, Kilkenny.
 Rice, John Herman, Barrister-at-Law, 8 Templemore Avenue,
 Rathgar.
 Sadlier, Thomas U., 51 Lansdowne Road, Dublin.
 Smith, H. V. C., Pembroke Estate Office, Dublin.
 Stewart, Miss Florence, The Cottage, Bryansford, Co. Down.
 Wilkinson, W. F. S., F.R.M.S., Irvinestown, Co. Fermanagh.
 Young, Mrs Joseph, Corrib House, Galway.

LIST OF DEATHS RECORDED IN 1919

FELLOWS

- Gough, Viscount, K.C.V.O., D.L., Lough Cutra, Gort (1912).
 Guilbride, Francis, J.P., Newtownbarry (1890, 1911).
 Macnamara, George U., LL.D., Bankyle House, Corofin (1894,
 1917).

Plunkett, Thomas, M.B.I.A., Enniskillen (1887, 1918).
 Purefoy, Richard D., M.D., 62 Merrion Square (1909).
 Scott, Anthony C. E., 49 Upper Sackville Street (1911).

MEMBERS

Barry, Theobald, Turtella House, Thurles (1918).
 Doherty, E. E. B., Oaklands, Bandon (1904).
 Ennis, Michael A., 10 Longford Terrace, Monkstown (1895).
 Fegan, W. J., Market Square, Cavan (1892).
 Horner, John, Antrim Road, Belfast (1899).
 Johnston, Alfred A., St. Angelo, Ballinamallard (1918).
 Keene, Most Rev. J. B., Bishop of Meath, 26 Clyde Road, Dublin (1889).
 MacIlwaine, Robert, Court House, Downpatrick (1893).
 McGolrick, Rt. Rev. James, D.D., Bishop of Duluth (1906)
 Milliken, James, 146 Ashfield Road, Liverpool (1901).
 Murphy, Rev. James E., M.A., Rathcore Rectory, Enfield (1892).
 Ormonde, The Marquis of, Kilkenny Castle (1870)
 Quan-Smith, Samuel A., Bullock Castle, Dalkey (1890).
 Toler-Aylward, H. J. C., D.L., Shankill Castle, Whitehall, Co. Kilkenny (1890).
 Windisch, Professor Dr. Ernst, Leipzig (1872).

NAMES OF FELLOW, MEMBERS AND ASSOCIATE
 MEMBERS REMOVED FROM ROLL UNDER RULE 11

FELLOW

Uniacke, R. G. F., Foxhall, Uxminster, Essex.

MEMBERS

Duncan, James, 55 Highfield Road, Rathgar.
 Figgis, William F., Rath Cruachan, Bray.
 Librarian, Berlin Royal Library, Berlin.
 Moore, John, 117 Grafton Street, Dublin.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

MacEgan, The, Queen's Hotel, Dalkey.
 MacTier, Miss, Wilton Mansions, Dublin.
 Walker, H. J., Athlone.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED, 1919.

Aarsberetning, 1915, 1916, 1917.
 American Antiquarian Society Proceedings, vol. xxviii, parts 1-2.
 Annales de l'Académie d'Archeologie de Belgique, lxvi, Tome vi,
 num. 1, 2, 3, 4, livres; lxvii Tome ii, num. 1-2.

- Antikvarisk Tidskrift för Sverige, del. 20, no. 4.
 Archaeologia Cambrensis, vol. xix, parts 1-4.
 Architect, The, vol. ci, nos. 2611-2662.
 Belfast Naturalists' Field Club, Proceedings, vol. viii, part 1.
 Bihar and Orissa Research Society Journal, vol. iv, part 4; vol. v, parts 1-4.
 British Archaeological Association, Journal, new series, vol. xxiv.
 Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, Transactions, vol. xxi.
 Bulletin, 1914, num. 1, 2; Bulletin, 1919, num. 1, 2.
 Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Proceedings, vols. lxix, xxxiv, xxxv.
 Cambridge and Huntingdonshire Archaeological Society, Transactions, vol. iv, part 3.
 Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society, Transactions, parts xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxv.
 Chester Archaeological Society, vol. xxii.
 Cork Historical and Archaeological Society, Journal, vol. xxiv, no. 120; vol. xxv, nos. 121, 122.
 County Louth Archaeological Journal, vol. iv, no. 3.
 Det Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskab Skrifter, 1915-1916.
 Dorset Natural History Field Club, Proceedings, vol. xxxix.
 Forestry Society, Publications, vol. xxiv, part 3; vol. xxx, part 1.
 Galway Archaeological and Historical Society, Journal, vol. x, no. 3.
 Glasgow Archaeological Society, Catalogue of the Library.
 Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. Transactions, vol. lxi.
 Institution of Civil Engineers of Ireland, Transactions, vol. xlv.
 Irish Builder, vol. lxi, nos. 1-23.
 Johan Ernst Gunnerus.
 Kent Archaeological Society, Archaeologia Cantiana, vol. xxxiii.
 Kildare Archaeological Society, Journal, vol. ix, nos. 3-4.
 Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, Proceedings, vol. 28.
 Numismatic Chronicle, fourth series, vol. xviii, nos. 71, 72; vol. xix, nos. 73, 76.
 Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statements for 1919.
 Revue Celtique, vol. xxxvii, nos. 1-3.
 Royal Anthropological Institute, Journal, vol. xlviii, July-Dec., 1918; vol. xlix, Jan.-June, 1919.
 Royal Institute of British Architects, Journal, vol. xxvi, nos. 3-12; vol. xxvii, nos. 1-4.

- Royal Irish Academy, Proceedings, vol. xxxiv, section C., nos. 10-11; vol. xxxiv, Title page and contents; vol. xxxv, Sec. C., nos. 2-9.
- Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen, Mémoires Nouvelle série. Aarbroger for 1917.
- Smithsonian Institution, Publications. Report of the U. S. National Museum for year ending June 30, 1918.
- Société de Archéologie de Bruxelles, Annales. Tome vingt huitieme, 1914-1918.
- Society of Architects, Journal, 1917-1918.
- Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Archaeologia Æliana. Third series, vol. ix, pp. 1-148.
- Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Proceedings, vol. lii, vol. liii.
- Society of Architects, Journal, vol. xii, nos. 1-9; vol. xiii, nos. 1-2.
- Somersetshire Archaeological Society, Proceedings, vol. lxiv.
- Suffolk Institute of Archaeology, Proceedings, vol. xvi, part 3; vol. xvii, part 1.
- Surrey Archaeological Collections, Proceedings, vol. xxxi.
- Uplands Fornminnes forenings Tidskrift, vol. xxxii, vol. xxxiii.
- Wales Archaeological Society, Transactions.
- Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, Magazine, nos. 130-131.
- Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Journals. Annual Report, 1918.
- Y. Cymmrodors, Transactions, vol. xxviii, session 1917-18.
- Yorkshire Philosophical Society Annual Report.
- Antonio Tempesta Urbio Rome. Prospectrio 1593. Gift of Librarian, Royal University, Upsala.
- Drawings illustrating the ruins of the Rock of Cashel. Description of Holy Cross Abbey, Co. Tipperary. Gift of Miss Emma Barton.
- Fairy Legends of the South of Ireland. Gift of Edwin Fayle, Esq.
- From Darwinism to Kaiserism. By and gift of Robert Munro, M.A., M.D. F.S.A.
- Irish Texts Society, Gift of Thomas Plunkett, V-President, vols. 1-12.
- Matrilinial Kinship and the question of priority. By and Gift of E. S. Hartland, F.S.A., *Hon. Fellow*.
- Three Months in the Forests of France. By Margaret Stokes. Gift of Edwin Fayle, Esq.
- The Saxon in Ireland. Gift of Edwin Fayle, Esq.
- Transactions during the Famine in Ireland. Gift of Edwin Fayle, Esq.
- The Story of our Parish (St Peter's, Dublin). By Catherine MacSorley, Gift of Rev E. G. Sullivan, M.A.
- The Report having been adopted,

94 ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND.

The following were declared elected to their respective offices:—

PRESIDENT:—

MICHAEL JOSEPH McENERY. Deputy Keeper of the Records in Ireland.

VICE-PRESIDENTS:—

ULSTER ... MOST REVD. JOHN BAPTIST CROZIER, D.D.
(since deceased).
CHARLES McNEILL.

LEINSTER ... RICHARD LANGRISHE, J.P.

MUNSTER ... HENRY BANTRY WHITE, M.A., I.S.O.
WILLIAM W. A. FITZGERALD, M.A.

CONNACHT ... THOMAS BODKIN COSTELLOE, M.D.
SIR WILLIAM FRY, D.L.

HONORARY GENERAL SECRETARY:—

HAROLD G. LEASK.

HONORARY TREASURER:—

E. C. R. ARMSTRONG, F.S.A.

MEMBERS OF COUNCIL:—

H. S. CRAWFORD, B.E., *Member*.

T. G. H. GREEN, *Fellow*.

PROFESSOR R. A. S. MACALISTER, LITT.D., *Fellow*.

W. G. STRICKLAND, *Fellow*.

The Evening Meeting was held at 8 o'clock p.m., when the newly elected President, M. J. McENERY, M.R.I.A., delivered an address.

AN EVENING MEETING of the 72nd Yearly Session of the Society was held at 63 MERRION SQUARE, DUBLIN, on TUESDAY, the 24TH OF FEBRUARY, 1920, at 8 p.m.

The PRESIDENT in the Chair.

The following paper was read and referred to the Council to be considered for publication:—

“ A Wooden Book with Waxed and Inscribed Leaves, found at Springmount, Co. Antrim.” By Professor R. A. S. Macalister, LITT.D., *Fellow*, and E. C. R. Armstrong, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*.

AN EVENING MEETING of the 72nd Yearly Session of the Society was held at 63 MERRION SQUARE, DUBLIN, on TUESDAY, the 30TH OF MARCH, 1920, at 8 p.m.

The PRESIDENT in the Chair.

The following papers were read and referred to the Council to be considered for publication:—

1. "The Old Prisons of the City of Dublin." By E. J. French, M.A., Fellow.
2. "Some Notes regarding Slemain Midhe, the battlefield of Gairech and Irghairech and other places in Westmeath referred to in the Táin Bó Cuailgne. By Thomas J. Shaw, J.P., *Member*.

A QUARTERLY GENERAL MEETING of the 72nd Yearly Session of the Society was held at 63 MERRION SQUARE, DUBLIN, on TUESDAY, 11TH MAY, 1920, at 8 o'clock p.m.

The PRESIDENT, M. J. McEnery, M.R.I.A., in the Chair.

Also present:—

Fellows.—E. C. R. Armstrong, C. H. Bennett, W. F. Butler, E. J. French, R. J. Kelly, Mrs R. S. Kehoe, Mrs G. C. McEnery, A. R. Montgomery, P. I. O'Reilly, J. F. Weldrick, H. Wood, Thomas Grattan Esmonde, I. M. Galway-Foley, Marquis MacSwiney, James Nichols, M. E. Nichols.

Members.—Miss Badham, Mrs Best, D. A. Chart, Oscar Conyngham, H. S. Crawford, C. P. Curran, Capt. J. E. F. FitzPatrick, J. B. Jennings, Mrs Annie Long, H. C. Mooney, R. B. Sayers, Mrs H. C. Mooney, J. W. Crawforth-Smith, Mrs M. E. Friel, S. Friel.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Auditor's report of the Accounts was received and adopted.

The following Fellows and Members were elected:—

AS FELLOWS

Barber, Rev Henry A. D., M.A., Castledermott Rectory, Co. Kildare (*Associate Member*, 1916).

Blake, Martin J., Heath House, Maryborough (*Member*, 1904).

Burnett, George Henry, Herbert Road, Bray (*Member*, 1905).

Conlon, John P., 4 Ennismore Villas, Cork (*Associate Member*, 1915).

Coyle, Rev. James, P.P., Leighlinbridge, Co. Carlow (*Member*, 1905).

Darling, Rev. Canon Harry, Bective Rectory, near Navan (*Member*, 1918).

Earle, Rev. George A., M.A., Dunkerin Rectory, Roscrea (*Member*, 1909).

Fitzhenry, Rev Robert, Lady's Island, Broadway, Wexford.

- Hade, Arthur, C.E., 28 Dublin Street, Carlow (*Member*, 1892).
Herbert, Charles G., Board of Works, Dublin (*Member*, 1917).
Lyster, Rev Canon H. C., Rectory, Enniscorthy (*Member*, 1891).
McKenna, Philip, Corelea, Kimmage Road, Dublin (*Member*, 1916).
Mar, John J., Marfort, Thurles (*Member*, 1907).
Maunsell, H. R., 91 Merrion Square, Dublin (*Member*, 1918).
Montgomery, H. C., Ballyholme House, Bangor, Co. Down (*Member*, 1914).
Nicol, Robert, Provincial Bank, St Stephen's Green, Dublin (*Associate Member*, 1913).
Nolan, D. J., Ulster Bank, Castlereagh (*Member*, 1919).
O'Brien, Mrs. Harriet, South Hill, Limerick (*Member*, 1900).
O'Donoghue, Cooper C., Orelan, Limerick (*Associate Member*, 1919).
Pakenham-Walsh, Major W. P., Crinken House, Shankill, Co. Dublin (*Member*, 1907).
Pillar, Rev. J. Frazer, B.A., Almortia Rectory, Mullingar (*Member*, 1917).
Reynolds, Mrs. The Mullins, Ballyshannon (*Member*, 1902).
Rogers, William E., Belfast Banking Co., Portaferry (*Member*, 1892).
Scott, John Alfred, M.D., 36 Lr. Baggot Street, Dublin (*Member*, 1901).
Stubbs, Henry, M.A., D.L., Danby, Ballyshannon (*Member*, 1893).

MEMBERS.

- Downes, Joseph Vincent, South Hill, Dartry Road, Rathmines.
Gately, John, 23 Upper Pembroke Street, Dublin.
Pearson, Charles W., 11 Alma Road, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.
Baker, Sir Augustine, 56 Merrion Square, Dublin.
Walker, Robert Vincent, B.A., Erne Square, Clones.

The following papers were read:—

- “Topographical Notes on the Barony of Coshlea, Co. Limerick, including Lackelly, the Lake District, Cenn Abbey, Clairé, &c.” By P. J. Lynch, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*.
“*The Earliest Irish Representation of the Crucifixion.*” By the Rev Louis Gougand, O.S.B.
“*The Pedigree and Succession of the House of McCarthy-Mór.*” By W. F. Butler, M.A., Fellow.

Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland—General Cash Statement for the Year ended 31st December, 1919

[illegible]

We have examined the above Accounts and compared them with Vouchers and found same to be correct.
30th April, 1920.

R. NICOL,
WILLIAM CHAMNEY, }
Auditors.



PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY

The "Extra Volumes" for the following years are :—

1888-89—"The Rude Stone Monuments of Co. Sligo and the Island of Achill," by Colonel Wood-Martin. (*Out of print.*)

***1890-91**—"The Account Roll of the Priory of the Holy Trinity, Dublin, 1337-1346, with the Middle English Moral Play, *The Pride of Life*, from the original in the Christ Church Collection in the Public Record Office, Dublin," edited by James Mills, M.R.I.A.

***1892**—"Inis Muiredach, now Inismurray, and its Antiquities," by W. F. Wakeman (cloth, royal 8vo, with Map and 84 Illustrations). (Price 7s. 6d.)

***1893-95**—"The Annals of Clonmacnoise," from the MSS. in the Royal Irish Academy and Trinity College, Dublin, edited, with Introduction and Notes, by Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., M.R.I.A.

***1896-97**—"Register of Wills and Inventories of the Diocese of Dublin in the time of Archbishops Tregury and Walton, 1457-1483," from the original MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, edited, with Translation, Notes, and Introduction, by Henry F. Berry, M.A., T.C.D., Barrister-at-Law.

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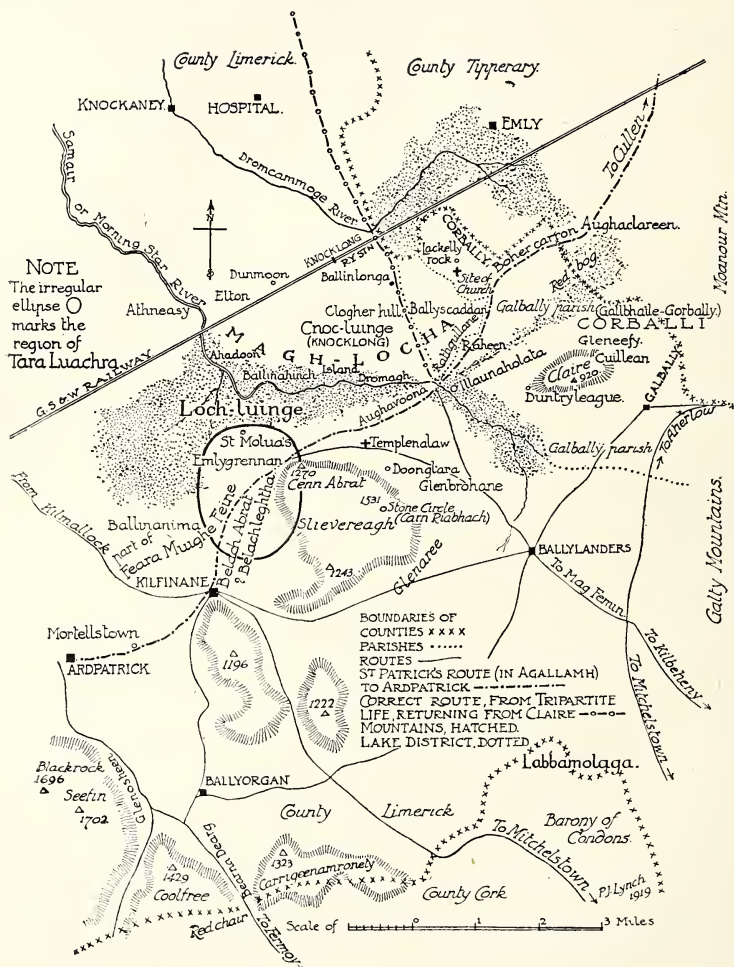
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MAP

Showing Barony of Coshlea and District
COUNTY LIMERICK

THE JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF IRELAND
FOR THE YEAR 1920



VOL. L, PART II
(VOL. X SIXTH SERIES—VOL. L CONSEC. SERIES)

TOPOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE BARONY OF COSHLEA,
CO. LIMERICK, INCLUDING LACKELLY, THE LAKE
DISTRICT, CENN ABRAT, CLAIRE, TARA LUACHRA, &c.

By P. J. LYNCH, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President, Munster.*

[Read 11 MAY 1920.]

IN preparing the following notes on the barony of Coshlea, I have only made use of such records and texts as had a bearing on its topography. I did not enter into any speculations on mythology, or history; and at the risk of being styled an euhemerist, I have accepted the legends as I found them. These tales, in many cases, are wild and fanciful, and the characters possibly supernatural; yet the topography is generally fairly accurate; indeed, in many cases it is this faithful description of the district that has given to the story the semblance of reality, and kept the legend alive.

In some cases the conclusions I have arrived at differ from the opinions expressed by some recent writers on the same subject, which I regret. When the question is a matter for conjecture, the discovery of some additional record may give a new direction to the line of inquiry, and lead to a complete change of opinion. By reason of such discoveries, the mistakes of some of our distinguished antiquaries in the past have been corrected in our own time.

In these notes I have brought forward much additional information relating to this district in support of my conjectures, which I hope will afford sufficient reasons for those who have formed

opinions differing from mine to modify their views. If so I will be greatly pleased and amply rewarded for my labour. We are all searching after truth, and truth should prevail.

When engaged on the survey of the cromleacs (or dolmens) of the Co. Limerick, published in the journals of the Limerick Field Club and the North Munster Archaeological Society, many questions arose having reference to the ancient topography of the county, and after the survey was completed I continued my inquiry so as to clear up some doubts and contradictions. In this way I endeavoured to locate Carn Feradaig¹ (Carnary), near Limerick, and to identify Cenn Abrat of Sliab Caoin² with the mountain now known as Slieveraagh, south of Knocklong. It was the study of the district around Knocklong, with its raths and tumuli, that led me to believe that one of the ancient royal cemeteries, Oenach Culi, was located there, for the reasons stated in the paper on Cenn Abrat.³

Circumstances prevented me from continuing my investigation at the time, or rather working out the notes I had taken. Since then I am pleased to know that Mr. T. J. Westropp has made the subject his own, and has described some of the mottes and other earthworks⁴ in the Knocklong district around Clogher Hill, and will, no doubt, bring to bear on this interesting inquiry more scientific research than I could hope to command.

LACKELLY.

It was when examining the townland of Corbally for any evidence in connection with the ancient Oenach ("Oenach Culi in Corballi") that I discovered Lackelly, which gives the name to two townlands (east and west), between which Corbally is situated, all close to Knocklong. In my opinion these townlands formed part of an older Corballi,⁵ and Lackelly was the name given to the stone or rock mentioned in the legend of the birth of St. Ailbhe.

The taxation of Pope Nicholas (1291) for the Diocese of Emly includes the "Chapel of Corbally. Hospitallers are rectors for the vicar."⁶ From this and other records it is clear that in former times Corbally was a well-defined area, extensive enough to justify the description of "Oenach Culi in Corballi."

¹ *Journal N. M. A. S.*, vol. i, p. 168.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 5, note. The spelling of this and other Irish words varies in the text, owing to quotations appearing from different sources. Where free, *Onomasticon Goedelicum* is generally followed.

⁴ *Proceedings of the R. I. A.*, vol. xxxiii, p. 444; vol. xxxiv, pp. 47, 127. Also *Journal N. M. A. S.*, pp. 122-158, vol. iv. *Journal R. S. A. I.*, vol. xlviii, p. 111. The papers in the latter two journals are based upon the original articles for the R. I. A.

⁵ For Corbally (Corballi) see *infra*.

⁶ *Diocese of Emly*, Rev. St. John D. Seymour, pp. 134n and 143.

The legend connecting St. Ailbhe with the rock is related in the different lives of the saint. He is said to have come from a portion of this district in which a chieftain named Cronan ruled. His father was Olenais, and his mother was Sancelit, both of the chief's household. Sancelit bore a son to Olenais, and Cronan was so displeased that Olenais fled from his presence, and the chief ordered the child to be killed. The child was removed from the house and left under a rock, where he was nourished by a she-wolf. Here the infant was found by a good man, Lochan Mac Lúgair, who carried him to his house. He was afterwards given to some men from Britain, who were slaves in the eastern part of Cliach. He was reared by them, and named Ailbhe, because he was found living under a rock.

The place connected with this legend is an outcrop of rock forming a low cliff on the farm of Mr. Kincaid, Lackelly West, and is marked "Lackelly rock" on the 6-inch ordnance sheet, No. 41, Co. Limerick. It derived its name Lackelly *leac Ailbe*⁷ from a large flag stone which lay on the top of the cliff. The cliff must have been much higher when the legend was composed, as the level of the ground at the base has raised in time.

When I first made inquiries about Lackelly I was informed by Mr. Healy, of Corbally, that the stone was there. He described it as about seven or eight feet long and four feet wide, and he believed it had some markings on it; but when I visited the place with him we found there was no stone. Mr. Kincaid, the present owner of the farm, did not remember it, but Mr. Healy clearly remembered Mr. Kincaid's father winnowing corn on it over forty years ago.

The local tradition is that St. Ailbhe was born at this rock, or under this stone—it is not very clear; but old people were in the habit of visiting the rock and reciting prayers on the 12th of September, the feast of St. Ailbhe, up to forty years ago, and the water which lay in some natural cavities of the rock, was used as a cure. Mr. Healy informed me that in the field where the stone lay human remains (skulls, &c.) had been found many years ago, and that it is believed to have been an ancient cemetery.

Though the stone has disappeared, and prayers have ceased to be offered on St. Ailbhe's festival,⁸ this place was a centre of devotion from a very early period. In Plummer's *Lives of Irish Saints*,⁹ after relating the incidents connected with Ailbhe's birth, it continues the legend as related in the *Life*.

⁷ Elly (Ailbhe) is a common Christian name in the district, changed in some cases by the rate collectors into Oliver!

⁸ It is probable this stone was not destroyed, and may be buried deep in some portion of the field. In later years it may have led to superstition; or for some other reason it was not considered right to encourage the visits to this rock, the stone was removed, and the visits ceased. See O'Hanlon's *Lives*, vol. ix, p. 283 n. 66.

⁹ Oxford, 1910, vol. 2, p. 46.

“ Et precepit rex servis suis ut occideretur puer. Inspirante autem spiritu sancto in servis illis, non occiderunt puerum, *sed sub quadam petra posuerunt eum, ibique reliquerunt; ubi nomen eius usque hodie adoratur.*”

Close to the rock on the S. E. in a field at the entrance to Mr. Kincaid's farm the remains of an old church stood some years ago. No portion of it is now to be seen there, but I was shown the moulded stones of the doors and windows built into the openings of the out-offices on the farm. The farm offices were probably built with the remains of the old church. This was probably the “Chapel of Corbally,” before referred to, as included in the taxation of Pope Nicholas, and held by the Hospitallers of Aney. As an ancient centre of devotion, and no doubt a source of revenue, it is natural to suppose that a chapel would be maintained here.

This church stood just on the boundary line of the present parish of Ballyscadden, and may have been the site of the ancient church of Kilrath mentioned in the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, which was close to the fort of Coirpre and Brocan. On the Down Survey map of Coshlea, Rathgullane—evidently a monumental rath—is marked close to this in Ballyscadden parish, where O'Flaherty was positive Kilrath was situated.¹⁰ The demesne, lands, and residences, now occupying the entire of this parish, must have led to the removal of many ancient land marks. The remains of another old church may be seen in the demesne lands of Ryve's Castle.

THE LAKE DISTRICT.

To understand the topography of this district from the early texts, it is important to consider what portions of it afford evidence of having been under water in ancient times,¹¹ forming the lakes referred to in the records.

Emly or Imleach Iubhair (the lake side place of the yew tree) was at one time almost entirely surrounded by water, and a lake existed there up to 200 years ago.¹² The district according to Keating was one of woods, bogs, and morasses. It is clear the lake extended westwards by the line of the Dromcomoge river close to Knocklong. The local tradition is that a boat could sail at one time from Knocklong to Emly. The lake also flowed south and

¹⁰ Archdall's *Monasticon*, p. 425. “Near the mountain called Claire in Ara Cliach.”

¹¹ In the map prepared to illustrate these notes, a general idea of the area under water is indicated by the dots; of course, no defined line of boundary could be attempted. The contouring of the ordnance maps was helpful when examining the district. It may have been divided into smaller lakes, but this could not now be determined. In the tract on the siege of Knocklong in the *Book of Lismore*, Cliu Mail, son of Ugaïne, is described as “a wet laky cliu, great its waters; great its rivers.”

¹² O'Hanlon's *Lives*, St. Ailbhe, vol. ix, Sept. 12th. *Diocese of Emly*, Seymour, p. 71. Keating's *History* (Irish Texts), vol. iii, p. 22.



LACKELLY.



BENCHES AT STONE CIRCLE, SLIEVEREAGH.



east, covering the area west of Ballywire and north of Duntry-league, marked on the Down Survey map as "the red bog." This lake drained to the south, into the Samair. In the tract on the siege of Knocklong (see *infra*) we read of contests at the ford, between the Munster men from Claire and Cormac's soldiers from Knocklong. "Raithin in imairic (probably the present Raheen), N. W. of Ath na n Oc," is referred to. West of this was doubtless moor and morass up to the Moanour mountain.

St. Patrick's journey from Kildare to Ardpatrik, as related in *Agallamh na Senorach*,¹³ brings him by Leix, and Aghaboe, past the clar or expanse of Derrymore, past the Corroges of Cleghile (near Tipperary) to Cuilleann na Cuanach (Cullen), past *leim in fheinneda* (the Fians' or champions' leap) to Aenach Culi mna Neachtain, now called Aenach setach sen Clochair, the cattle rich fair of old Clochar, and across Ath Braengair, which is now called Ath Mor, past Cenn Febhrat of Sliabh Caoin to the southward by tulach na feinne, or hill of the Fianna, which now is called Ardpatrik. This passage from Cullen to the south would be east of Emly, and skirting the east side of the lake. On this stretch of water would be found "*leim in fheinneda*," probably close to Aughaclarcen, which I should say marks the ancient ford crossing into the plain of Knocklong, now the parish of Ballyscadden, and south of Knocklong on to Elton, joining the great "Clar Mumhan," or plain of Munster. It is by that ford St. Patrick would cross to pass Aenach Culi mna Neachtain.

There is evidence that the Morning Star, or Samair river, expanded into a lake south of Knocklong, and extended eastwards towards the present source of the river and its tributary streams to the south of Duntryleague. From the contour of this ground it must have been swampy, even in the historic period. The drainage of that district might alter the supposed source of the Morning Star.

The ford across this portion of the river from the north was, no doubt, at the place now called Aughavoona, *Ath an mhóna*, the ford of the bog. This must have been an important passage to the south, and identical with the Ath mor or Ath Braengair mentioned in *Agallamh na Senorach*.¹⁴ Close to this ford on the north-east is Ilaunaholta moat (pronounced locally Il. lawn. na. howl tha), which is understood to mean the island of the hoarding. The remains of a low earthwork exists here; perhaps it was constructed for the defence of the ford.

The lake or lakes south of Knocklong extended over the ground around Ballinahinch (town of the island) and Island-dromagh (the

¹³ W. Stokes, *Windisch's Irische Text*, vol. iv, p. 20. 1900.

¹⁴ This ford is not mentioned in O'Grady's Version (*Silva Gadelica*). It is valuable as defining this route more clearly, as distinct from the more reliable details recorded in the *Tripartite Life*.

island of the ridges), and close to Emlygrennan, probably spreading south and west towards Kilfinane. The Samair narrowed as it flowed north to the fords of Ahadoon and Athneasy (Ath nDeise), which was where Elton bridge now stands. The river flowing north and west towards Bruff, drains some very low-lying lands, which may have been to some extent submerged, forming the lakes we read of at Knockany. It is certain that in ancient times the Samair was a wide and important river and tribal boundary, though it is now but a narrow, shallow stream. It was one of the seven great rivers of Ireland.

EMLYGRENNAN.

The different forms in which this name appears in the records ¹⁵ from the Imelach Drengingi of the twelfth century to Imelach Dreyne, Imelach Dreyneyn, Emeligrennan, on to Emlach grenan in the sixteenth century, while somewhat confusing, is remarkable as preserving throughout in different forms the word *imleach*, a place bordering on a lake; *grianan* means a beautiful or sunny place, and in some cases a royal fort, so that the fort, or sunny place by the lake side, would explain the place name. Joyce, following O'Donovan, and having had no suggestion of a lake before him, explains the name by a process of eclipsing *b* by *m*, and otherwise (which does not appear very clear, even to Dr. Joyce) as bile Ghroidhnin, or Grynán's old tree. However, he suggests that there may have been a desire to assimilate the name with the well-known Emly, Co. Tipperary, but he was not aware that the same reason applied. Here, too, was "Dubthach's fort" ¹⁶ to the north-east.

LOCH LUINGE OR LONGA.

Knocklong, originally known as Druimdamhghaire, the hill of the oxen, was the scene of a battle in the third century between Cormac Mac Art, King of Ireland, and Fiacha Muilleathan, King of Munster. Cormac encamped on this hill, since which time it has been known as Cnoc luinge (Knocklong), the hill of the encampment. There is also a townland called Ballinlonga, and the ancient name of the parish was Doon and Long. It might naturally be supposed that the lake at the foot of Cnoc luinge would be known as Loch Luinge, but there are many other questions to be considered before arriving at that conclusion.

In O'Hanlon's *Lives* it is stated ¹⁷ that when

"St. Patrick was at Ardpatrik he had laid out the lines for building a church. The chief or dynast of the place named Derbhallas, the son

¹⁵ *Proceedings R. I. A.* (Westropp), vol. xxvi, p. 428.

¹⁶ *Metrical Dindshenchas* (Gwynn), Todd Lecture Series, vol. x, p. 231. Perhaps it was the *grianan*, or royal fort, which gave the name.

¹⁷ Vol. iii, *St. Patrick*, p. 708.

of Aidus, was a scoffer and sceptic, who wished to put the holy missionary's power at fault. According to Jocelyn, this nobleman of Munster (by him named Cearbhallus) would not permit St. Patrick to build a church within his territories. Not far from the nobleman's house was a fair and spacious lake, called Loch Longa, very pleasant to behold, but owing to the interposition of a great mountain called Kennsehrad (Cenn Abhrat) his house was deprived of that grateful prospect. The saint urged the nobleman very much to give him leave to build a church. The chief answered: 'If you remove this great mountain that deprives my house of the pleasant prospect over that broad and spacious lake lying in Fera Maighe Feine, on the further side, I will then yield to your request for building a church. The saint offered up to God his prayers, and the earth, it is related, swallowed down the mountain. Notwithstanding, the perfidious man would not stand to his former promise. Wherefore, the saint prayed to God a second time, when the mountain forthwith swelled up to its former height and greatness." The version in the *Tripartite Life* is: "If you would remove that mountain there, so that I could see Loch Longa across it, to the south, in Fera Maighe Feine, I would believe, Cenn Abhrat is the name of the mountain, and Belach Legtha (melted pass) is the name of the pass which was melted there." In this, the second prayer of the saint is not recorded, and the gap through which a view of Loch Longa was obtained is referred to as Belach Leghtha, the road of melting.

Both accounts locate Loch Longa in Fera-Maighe-Feine,¹⁸ and the mountain as Cenn Abrat. The lake has not been identified; there have been many suggestions as to its position in Fermoy, suggested by drawing a line from Ardpatrik through the pass in the Ballyhoura mountains which runs south-east into Fermoy. This places it near Mitchelstown. Hogan's *Onomasticon* states "it is still existing a broad, shallow pool near Marshals-town, according to O'Longan in the two Fermoy's," but the name of this "broad and spacious lake" does not survive, and the location is all conjecture, nor can any view of Fermoy be obtained from Ardpatrik through the pass.

The curious feature of the topography disclosed by these legends is, that, standing at Ardpatrik and looking towards Fermoy, which is *south-east of it*, Cenn Abrat does not come into the line of vision, as it is about six miles in a direct line *north-east* of Ardpatrik; but looking from Ardpatrik towards the lake basin I have described at Cnoc Luinge, the entire lake would come into view, just beyond the west end of Cenn Abrat, and the road by that end of Slievareagh might be called Belach Leghtha. The reading of these legends without question, has led to much confusion in the topography of this district in the past, and on into our own time.

As Cenn Abrat was the present mountain known as Slievareigh, then Loch Luinge could not have been south of Ardpatrik, or in the present barony of Fermoy, and there appears to be good reason for placing it south of Cnoc luinge (Knocklong).

¹⁸ Generally understood to be the same as the present baronies of Fermoy, and Condons and Clangibbon, in the Co. Cork.

The only explanation of the legend that would agree with the topography is that a portion of Feara-Muighe-Feine was in the Co. Limerick, and extended to the north of Ardpatrik. If the ancient name means the men of the plain of the Fianna, and Ardpatrik was known as "the hill of the Fianna," it suggests some connection. The Irish texts afford evidence in many ways, showing the close connection of the Fianna with the plain of Coshlea and the district.

FEARA MUIGHE FEINE (FERMOY).

The "Topography of Fermoy," a tract from the *Book of Lisimore*, as translated by O'Longan, affords valuable information; though the translator believing from the legend that Loch Luinge should be in the Co. Cork, in attempting to locate it, has unfortunately, made several mistakes.

The tract states¹⁹: "This country was in two Triuchs before it was given to Mogh Ruth, and there were eight Tuaths in each Triuch, and the line of demarcation between these two Triuchs was, namely, the course of Glaisse Muilinn Mairteil, the stream of the mill of Martell, in Sliabh Cain, and Loch Luinge on the Machaire (on the plain), and Gleann na nDibergachael (glen of the brigands), on Moin Mor, and when being given to Mogh Ruth these were made into one Triuch . . . and after that it was arranged into ten Tuaths."²⁰

From the mention of Sliabh Cain (or Caoin) in these boundaries, attention is naturally directed to this group of mountains in the Co. Limerick. Quite close to Ardpatrik, on the north-east, we find Mortellstown, evidently an important centre, from the remains of the fine fort—Cahir Mortell²¹—still to be seen there occupying a commanding position over the plain of the Co. Limerick, and Cnoc Luinge (Knocklong) to the north, at the foot of which, on the plain, was the lake, which I believe to have been Loch Luinge, and which, according to this tract, formed the northern limit of this line of demarcation. The southern termination of the line was at a glen in Moin Mor, which I think has been satisfactorily shown by O'Longan to have been in the Nagle Mountains, that form part of the southern boundary of Fermoy

¹⁹ *Monasticon Hibernicum*, Archdall. Edited by Dr. Moran, vol. i. p. 128.

²⁰ O'Longan supposes this stream (which he suggests was one of the "Mortar Mill") to be one running into the Funshion, north-west of Marshalstown, near Mitchelstown, where he also suggests Loch Luinge was situated, because of a place called "*Baile an Locha*," found marked on the Down Survey Map, south of Mitchelstown. Moin Mor he believes to be in the Nagle Mountains.

²¹ *Proceedings R. I. A.*, vol. xxxiii (Westropp), p. 475. It was Martell's town in the Plea Rolls of Ed. II., A.D. 1317.

barony. This line, in the Co. Cork, would roughly indicate the eastern boundary of the present barony of Fermoy, separating it from Condons and Clangibbon, and probably the latter barony formed the second Triuch which was given to Mogh Ruth.

The Awbëg river, which rises near Dromina in the north-west of the barony of Orrery and Kilmore, flows mainly through the barony of Fermoy, discharging into the Blackwater, south of Castletownroche. It gives a name to one of the tribes in Fermoy—the Hi Becc Abha—and a boundary for some districts, with their patronymics; but it is unnecessary for my purpose to enlarge upon that portion of the translation, the sole object in referring to it being to show that the ancient Feara Muighe Feine included the plain of the Co. Limerick between Ardpatrik (Mortellstown) and Loch Luinge.

The Tuath of the Hi Becc Abha would appear to have been formed “around the river.” South of the river it extended to Moananimy. “The other half of that Tuath is Hi Becc upper.” This lay north of the Awbeg river as it flows west and east, and “both sides” of the river, where it flows north and south. It embraced the entire of the present parish of Doneraile, some adjoining parishes, and probably a small portion of the barony of Orrery and Kilmore, then “East (and north) to Loch Luinge,” which appears to have been the extreme northern limit of the Tuath.²²

Another Tuath described was “Tuath O’n-Duinnin, and its length was from the summit of Sliabh Cain to Eachlascaib Molaga, and its breadth is from Glaise Muillin Marteil to Bearn Mic Imhair. O’Lannain is chief of this Tuath. Hi Cineadha and Hi Seansain and Hi Dungassa and Hi Dungaile are its patronymics, and Cill Maincheas is their burial place.”

In this case Slieve Cain evidently refers to Slievereagh, from the summit of which to Leaba Molaga—just inside the boundary of the Co. Cork—indicates a well-defined length for the Tuath, north to south. The breadth west to east, from Mortellstown to Bearn Mic Imhair, is also intelligible. The pass must be to the east of Slievereagh, and may be that known as “Glenaree.” The burial place, Cill Maincheas, I should suppose was Ardpatrik. Mainchin of Luimnech was of the race of Cormac Cas. This Tuath, portion of Feara Muighe Feine, was entirely in the Co. Limerick.

The information provided by this tract proves conclusively that Feara Muighe Feine extended to the north of Ardpatrik, and bordering on Loch Luinge (still further north), and beyond Cenn Abrat. In this way the legend of Belach Leghtha, or the melted

²² The location of this Tuath, and its boundaries effectually disposes of all attempts to locate Loch Luinge near Mitchelstown.

pass, as we find it in the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, which has puzzled all our antiquaries, and led to many mistakes in topography for so long a time, is explained.

CENN ABRAT.

To establish the identity of Cenn Abrat with Slieveveagh is most important. I have already in the *Journal of the North Munster Archaeological Society*,²³ when writing on Cenn Abrat, brought forward such evidence as I could find in support of that opinion. Since then I have collected other texts, which are more convincing. With that paper I prepared a plan of the stone circles²⁴ at the eastern end from measurements and photographs supplied me by the late Dr. George Fogerty, who, with his usual kindness, ascended the mountain while I was engaged in measuring Doonglara.

Up to this the statement that Slieveveagh is the Cenn Abrat of Sliab Caoin is merely conjecture, based on a reasonable inference from the reading of the Irish Texts. This is verified by a passage in *Teacht Imtheacht an Giolla Deacair*.²⁵ In describing the hunting expedition of the Fenians into Munster, it relates that they leave Allen, march through Offaly, by Fercall and the twelve mountains of Feidhlimthe to Cliu Mail Mic Ughaine, to Droum Collehoilli now Cnoc Aine, and then spread out their forces all over the country to Tulach na Fairsinge (Ard Padraig) and to Cend Amhra (recte ΔΒΡΑΘ) Sliabh Caoin, which is called Sliabh Riabhach. This passage is a distinct identification of Cenn Abrat of Sliab Caoin with Slieveveagh (Sliabh Riabhach). It should be noted that in this precise description it is not mentioned that the mountain was ever known as Sliab Claire, as some writers believe.

The inference from the texts is that this entire range or group of mountains were known as Sliab Caoin,²⁶ just as we know Slieve Phelim in the north, Slieve Mis, and other mountain ranges. It

²³ Vol. ii, p. 7, and note.

²⁴ Shown on the new 6-inch Ordinance sheet, Co. Limerick, No. 49. The "Cromlech," also discovered, and marked on the same map, is a spurious one, merely the accidental formation of the disintegrating rocky surface of the mountain. "The Pinnacle," "Labbabiertha," and the "Benches," are names introduced into the new map. The local *seanchaidhe* never heard of "The Pinnacle"—a name in English for such remains is not convincing—"Labbabiertha" is but a natural fissure, or hole, in the rocky cliff formation. The value of these new maps to the archaeologist is greatly impaired by the freedom which was allowed to the surveyors, when obtaining information concerning antiquities.

²⁵ Published by the Gaelic League, 1905. The MS. is more detailed than that used by Mr. O'Grady in *Silva Gadelica*, p. 2. I am indebted to the Rev. J. McErlean, S.J., for this reference. He was pleased to take an interest in my contributions to the *Journal of the N. M. A. S.*, and, after their publication, made some valuable suggestions to me for which I feel very grateful.

²⁶ Caoin, meaning pleasant, fertile, smooth or even surface.

has been assumed, and frequently stated, that Caoin is derived from the passage in the Agallamh which relates that Derg Dualach's son Caen was buried on Cenn Febrat.²⁷ As the death of Caen was subsequent to the death of Febhra, which event gave the mountain its name, "Cenn Febrat of Sliab Caoin" would not be the proper expression. However, this connection with Caen is frequently referred to. The *A. F. M.* records (vol. vi, p. 2119) Essex journeying towards "Ceann Feabhra of Sliabh Caoin, the son of Dearg Dulach," and Cenn Abrat, and sometimes the group of mountains, are referred to as Sliab Cain, or Caoin, in various Irish texts.

TARA-LUACHRA.

In the continuation of the narrative in the *Mesca Ulad* ²⁸ (p. 19), we find "'Query however,' said Conor, 'what do you wish?' 'We desire,' said Celtchair, son of Uthidir, 'to be a day and night in the territory in which we are; because 'twere a sign of defeat to us to go out of it, for it is not a fox's track with us in valley or waste, or wood.' 'Speak, then, O Cuchulaind,' said Conor, 'what is the proper place of encampment for us during this day and night?' 'Old Aenach Clochair is here,' said Cuchulaind, 'and this rough winter season is not fair time. And Tara Luachra is on the slopes of the eastern Lauchair, and in it are the residences and structures.' 'To go to Tara Luachra then is what is right,' said Sencha, son of Ailill. They went on in the straight direction of the road to Tara Luachra, and Cuchulaind as a guide before them."

When the Ultonians arrived on the green, Curio Mac Dairi sent a messenger out to bid them welcome. Sencha replied: "It is pleasing to us, and pleasing to the King, and it was not to commit injury or conflict the Ulidians came, but in a drunken fit from Dun-da-bend to Cliu of Mal, son of Ugaine, and they deemed it not honourable to go out of the district until they would be a night encamped in it."

This very clearly describes Tara Luachra as in Cliu Mal, on the slopes of the eastern Luachair, and not far distant from Knockany, and a site on the western side of Cenn Abrat answers to that description.

There have been various conjectures as to the site of Tara Luachra, the general opinion being that it was somewhere in the range of mountains between Limerick and Kerry, known as Sliabh Luachra. The vicinity of Castleisland, Duagh, Abbeyfeale, or Drumcollogher, has been suggested. The trouble has arisen chiefly from the want of reliable information as to the extent of the district known as Luachair. It was at one time supposed that it was confined to the Co. Kerry, and Tara Luachra was sought for there. It is now admitted that Luachair was more extensive, and included Cenn Abrat (*Onomasticon*).

When at Knockany, the question arose as to where the

²⁷ *Silva Gadelica*, p. 524.

²⁸ *Todd Lecture Series R. I. A.*, vol. i, p. 19.

Ulidians should encamp during *that day and night*. Cuchulaind gave them the option of Old Aenach-Clochair, which was *at hand* (a few miles south), or “Tara Luachra, on the slopes of the eastern Luachair.” This could not mean a camping ground near any of the places mentioned in the south-west, the nearest of which would be thirty to forty miles distant; but a place where they could encamp for that day, Cuchulaind reminding them that at Tara-Luachra “were the residences and structures”—probably to protect them from the snow, then falling—and Tara-Luachra was selected.

The slopes of Cenn Abrat, which Mr. Westropp has identified as Temair Erann,²⁹ with its raths, would justify the description. Imleach Grianan (Emly grenan), at which there is a castle, may mark the site of the royal fort. It was “Dubthach’s keep” in the *Dindshenchas* (see *supra*).

In the *Metrical Dindshenchas*³⁰ of Temair Luachra, we read—

“ it was a flowery plain, set with thorn,
“ till the date of the sons of Ugaine

It was comely for the children of Dedad,
when their home was at Temair;
Comely was Temair round their house
in the time of Dedad, son of Sen.

The night Conn was born
Erin was flooded at one blow;
’twas then Loch Riach arose
and Loch Lein above Luachair.”

These lines identify Tara Luachra with Cliu Mal, son of Ugaine, in which stands Cenn Abrat; also with Dedad, son of sen, from whom the Dedad Ernai, whose cemetery is on Cenn Abrat, descended. Loch Riach in “the flowery plain” may have been the name for the lake at the foot of Sliab Riach (Cenn Abrat). The lake district here was extensive (see *supra* and map) in pre-historic times, probably much more than I have ventured to determine.

O’Donovan, in *Leabhar na gCeart*, p. 254, states that Teamhair Earann and Teamhair Luachra are the same.

Bound is the King of Teamhair of lords
To go (taking) the same number with him
And no son of a plebian there
To eat the feast of the Earna.

The King of Munster was bound to stay for “a week at Teamhair Luachra Deaghaidh” for this feast of the Earna.

In the *Agallamh* (p. 176) Cailte refers to “the red stag that haunted in the open lands of well-watered Luachra, in the south.”

²⁹ *Proceedings R. I. A.*, vol. xxxiv, p. 179 (Westropp).

³⁰ *R. I. A.*, *Todd Lecture Series*, vol. x, (E. Gwynn), p. 287.

This would apply to Cenn Abrat. There is no lake district at the other sites suggested. Cailte has before referred to the stags at "ample Loch Bo." Here, too, there was wood, and bog, and royal raths, all as described in *Mesca Ulad* (p. 21). The references to their approaching Temhair "from the east" when Knockany bears north may be explained by their passing Aenach-Clochair, to the ford, at Aughavoona, from which their passage would be from the east, to Imleach-Grianan. The entire distance would not be more than nine or ten miles.

In *Silva Gadelica* (p. 523) we read: "Whence Temhair Luachra-Tara of Luchair. . . . As for Luachair itself . . . it was "a flowery plain," in which Suir, Nore, and Barrow had their source, also Lochs Riach, and Lein in Luachair. Loch Lein is at Killarney, towards which the Kerry Luachra extended. The lake at Cenn Abrat or Sliabh Riach may have been called Loch Riach, in Luachair,³¹ which would still further support the suggestion that Tara Luachra was on Cenn Abrat. There is evidence in the Irish texts and old maps of the lakes in this district having been known by different names at different periods.

While the *Four Masters* record, A.D. 1580, that Sir William Pelham "proceeded to Temhair-Luachra, and thence to Tralee," the Deputy himself in his report only mentions that "on the 16th we entered Sleulogher," "encamped at Duagh" (Dowau), . . . "and marched next day to Tralee." In this there is no mention of Tara-Luachra, but of Sliabh-Luachra. In my opinion it is the report should be relied on, and this does not indicate the site of Tara-Luachra.

The silver bow of Crimthan that was carried to "Cenn Febrat" after the destruction of Temair Luachra by the Uladh probably refers to the fort known as Doonglara (Keating calls it Cenn Febrat). It was not far distant on the same mountain.

There are some details of the narrative—as in all such tales—which are inaccurate or contradictory, and require explanation. One such is where the Ulidians are described as crossing the river Maigue in their journey from north-east Limerick to Knockany, which is not correct. The river crossed was the Drom-commogue, a tributary of the Maigue. If the topography of *Mesca Ulad* is to be relied on—and in the main it is accurate—then the proximity of Aenach Clochair and Tara Luachra to Knockany is clear.

Should any doubt be entertained as to Mr. Westropp's identification of Tara Erann at Cenn Abrat, the location of Tara Luachra there should help to sustain his reasoning. The place where the feast of the Ernai was celebrated would naturally be called Temair Erann; in *Leabhar na gCeart* it is stated to have been cele-

³¹ This differs from Loch Riach, or Loughrea. See *Onomasticon*.

brated at "Temhair Luachra Deaghaidh," which was probably an older name for the cemetery of the Ernai; no doubt, it was for this reason O'Curry and O'Donovan believed them to be the same, though they did not suppose they were situated in Coshlea.

CARN MEIC NAIRBREACH.

In the *Agallamh*, Cailte is asked: "Where was Oilioll Olum, son of Mogh Nuadat slain?" He replies: "On the summit of Sliabh Claire; he died of apoplexy brought on by grief."

The discovery of the stone circles on the eastern end of Slieve-reagh induced some writers to identify them as the remains of the residence or burial place of Olioll Olum, and to support the opinion that Slieve-reagh was Sliabh Claire. This conclusion must have been arrived at without due consideration of the geological formation of Slieve-reagh. The site of the circles, or any portion of the surroundings on the summit, could never have been used as the site of a royal residence. It is all a barren rock of red sandstone conglomerate, which has been disintegrating and decomposing for ages. The photographs give some idea of the mountain surface.

The stones forming "the circles" on the eastern end of Slieve-reagh, on Ordnance Survey map No. 49, Co. Limerick, are as shown on the plan. When I prepared the first plan of these circles I described them as probably two concentric circles outside the remains of a dolmen or cairn. I have given the question further consideration, and changed my opinion somewhat. I have completed the outer circle on the plan (see dotted lines). It appears evident that this circle (about 45 feet in diameter), when complete, could have rested within the "Benches," while the second "circle," and the stones inside of it, mark the base of a cairn about 26 feet in diameter, enclosing the tomb, of which the inner stones formed part.

There is no "Cromlech" (marked on Ordnance Survey Map) on the mountain. There are several blocks of stone resting on the rocky surface of the mountain; but, as Dr. Fogerty writes³² "if a Cromleac is something built by human hands, there is none."

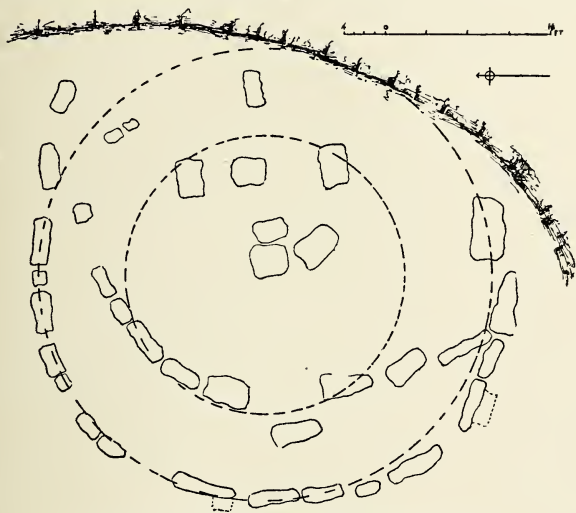
From the circumstances connected with the death of Dadera mac Dairbreach at the battle of Cenn Abrat it is reasonable to suppose that these circles are the remains of "Carn Meic Nairbreach" raised over his grave. The study of the description of the battle of Cenn Abhrad published in *Anecdota*³³ should remove some doubts and correct many errors regarding the topography of this district.

The following may be taken as a brief summary. At the

³² *Journal N. M. A. S.*, vol. ii, p. 15.

³³ *Anecdota from Irish MSS.* (1908), vol. ii, pp. 76-79.

beginning of the battle, Oilíoll Olum was stationed at *Magh Locha*, and Mac Con at *Cenn Abhrad*. Amongst Mac Con's soldiers was Enbais diada from whom *Creag Enbaisi* in *Sliabh Caoin* is called. Mac Con occupied *Tulach na Teannala* (Hill of camp fires or torches), then he and his forces mounted to *Mullach Sleibe Cenn Abrad*, whence he had a view of all the armies through the mountain. Oilíoll Olum plans treachery towards Mac Con. Mac Con decided to meet Oilíoll Olum, and they have an interview at the ford. The three Cairbres (allies of Oilíoll Olum), who commanded



PLAN OF STONE CIRCLES, SLIEVEREAGH.

6,000 warriors, moved by a false rumour that Oilíoll Olum had made peace with Mac Con without consulting them, "rose up in anger and rage," and "with the fury of uncontrolled passion" led their hosts to the Ford, and, casting their helmets from their heads into the Ford, gave battle, whence the place is called *Ath mBeann-Choir*³⁴ (*Beanna*, literally peaks, points) from the peaks or points of the helmets which the warriors put from them there.³⁵ This ford was probably *Ath Mor*, now *Aghavoona*.

Mac Con mustered his forces, but he was unable to withstand the onslaught, and he himself was in danger, but his *rigdruith* (royal jester), *Dadera mac Dairbreach*, got him to exchange insignia with him, and then fled through the mountains. Thinking

³⁴ This is probably the same as *Ath Braengair*, now (*Aghavoona*) mentioned in *Agallamh na Senorach* (W. Stoke's translation). See *supra*, describing St. Patrick's journey south to *Ardpatrick*.

³⁵ For a description of the horns, or peaks of metal on helmets, see *Journal R. S. A. I.*, vol. xlii, p. 11, M. E. Dobbs.

Dadera was Mac Con, Cairbre Muse followed him, overtook him, and cut off his head. "From him *Carn Meic Nairbreach* is called." Having discovered his mistake, Cairbre pursued Mac Con till he reached *Leitir Cenn Abrad* (the rocky portion of Cenn Abrad), but Mac Con and his forces fled southwards to Magh Femin; this would be by the eastern end of Slieveveagh, Kilbehenny, and leading to South Tipperary (Iffa and Offa West). "Cairbre succeeded in wounding Mac Con in the thigh, but he escaped to Rossach Ruagh, and after he recovered from his wound he was not in Erin until the time when he gained the Kingship of Erin."

This description establishes in the first place the fact that the Samhair river was then a tribal boundary, and it so remained for centuries. Olioll Olum, with his forces of the Dergthene, were on the north side of the river, while Mac Con with the Ernai and their allies were on Cenn Abrat, on the south side. "They met at the Ford." Magh Lochá must have been the plain north of the Loch, and extending from Duntryleague, Olioll Olum's stronghold, south of Ballyscadden and Knocklong on towards Knockany, where it joined the great plain of the Co. Limerick.

From the disposition of the rival forces it is clear that the fort Doonglara was not a stronghold of Olioll Olum's. It was situated in the enemies' country. The fort of Olioll Olum, no doubt, formed his "base of operations," and must have been on the north side, and Duntryleague (Claire) naturally suggests itself.

Mac Con ascended to Mullach Sliebe Cinn Abrad. This would have been the eastern end (the only place to obtain a view "through the mountain"), and over Doonglara. After this we find him at the ford Ath Beannchoir, Ath Mor, now Aghavona. In this way the fighting appears to have been concentrated on the eastern end of Cenn Abrat, which was also the line of retreat for Mac Con's forces, passing Doonglara, on the way to Magh Femin via Glenaree, Kilbehenny, &c.

This would naturally be the route taken by Dadera mac Dairbreach, disguised as Mac Con, when he was followed and slain by Cairbre Muse, and points to the stone circles over Doonglara as the remains of "Carn mac Nairbreach."

There is nothing in the foregoing account of the battle to lead to the belief that the entire mountain was not known as Cenn Abrat, but there are other texts from which it might be inferred that Cenn Abrat was supposed to be one of the peaks of Slieveveagh.

In Mac Raith's poem ³⁶ the author appears to be of this opinion. He thus describes his dream on Cend Febrat:

I met one that described to me
the situation of the graves in full
in the well-remembered stronghold
set in due order on Cend Febrat.

³⁶ *Metrical Dindshenchas* (Gwynn), *Todd Lecture Series*, vol. x, p. 227.



CAIRN RIABHACH. Remains of Inner Circle.



DOLMEN ON DUNTRYLEAGUE (CLAIRE).

The grave of Cain, son of Derg, long-haired and strong,
from whom is named Sliab Cain of the victory
appeared to be on my right hand
the neglect was cause of strife.

In the four succeeding verses the poet describes the situation of the graves of different leaders of the Ernai³⁷ and their wives, all on the western slope of Cenn Abrat. The verse following is:

East of them comes on the mount
the grave of Dodera in his brown cloak,
after he was foully slain for ever,
it is not far from Cend Febrat.

This verse gives strong support to the conjecture formed from the description of the battle of Cenn Abrat (*supra*) that Dodera's grave was on the east side of Slieveveagh, at the "stone circles." The poet locates it east of the other graves of the Ernai, on the mount, and not far from Cend Febrat.

"Dodera in his brown cloak" may refer to portion of the disguise which he was said to wear at the time he was slain. The poem continues:

Since the Tuatha Dé seized
the soil of Fotla, noble in beauty,
above the ranks of the noble druids in general
is the branch of Cend Febrat.

The Head of Febrat, the Head of Currech,
and the Head of the stern-smiting Claire,
and the Head of Aife his wife,
which ancient speech of sages touches upon.

By the son of Fland of Loch Slemain
their doings are not unremembered,
there remain here for a while, with their possessions,
four memorials of the ancient heads.

I should say that the "heads" in above verse apply to personalities, druids, or gods, of the Tuatha Dé—not mountain peaks. The translator appears to be of this opinion, as he notes (p. 519), "The 'possessions' must be the mounds where the heads are buried." "For a while" would explain the temporary nature of the "memorials," such as grave mounds, which disappear in time. However, it is possible the poet may refer to both the mounds and the mountain peaks if the connection appeared clear.

CARN RIABHACH.

To return to the cairn of Dodera on the eastern end of Slieveveagh, with a diameter of about 26 feet, it would form a very striking landmark on the mountain, and, being constructed of red sandstone, be of a bright brown colour,³⁸ and known as Carn

³⁷ See *Proceedings R. I. A.* (Westropp), vol. xxxiv, p. 179.

³⁸ "Riabhach is brown rather than grey," *Proceedings R. I. A.* (T. J. Westropp), vol. xxxiii, n., p. 459.

Riabhadh. In the boundaries of the Dal g Cais at one time, as given in *Onomasticon Goedelicum*, we find Carn Riabhadh³⁹ given amongst the southern landmarks. It is probable that this remarkable cairn, and tribal boundary, in time, gave its name to the entire mountain, Sliabh Riabhadh (Slieveveagh), and, possibly, Loch Riach (see *supra*).

KNOCKLARA (KNOCKLAURA).

Surprise is expressed by writers⁴⁰ who connect the stone-circles with Olioll Olum, and believe Slieveveagh to be the Sliabh Claire of the Agallamh, on which that monarch died, at O'Donovan (who believed Claire to be at Duntryleague) for not having noticed the survival of the name Claire in the townland of Knocklara (Knocklairy, Knocklaura) Cnoc g Claire, close to the fort marked Doonglara, said to be Dun g Claire. However, this may not have been so clear, seeing that it adjoins Glenlara into the etymology of which Claire does not enter. It is probable that the name is derived from the small earthen spur fort which is found here; "not a true spur fort, but a defaced liss."⁴¹ Leath-rath (Lara), meaning half fort, is an Irish compound, from which it is believed the termination is derived in many cases. Thus, from this incomplete rath, we have Cnoc Leath-rath, Knocklara.

The passage of the Sugán Earl, as recorded by the *Four Masters*, 1600—"Through Aherloe to Bearná Derg, passing to the east of Sliabh Claire." is also urged against O'Donovan. From the map it will be seen that the route (through Galbally) is east of Duntryleague. Those early chroniclers generally note but four points of the compass; and the line of route could not properly be described as south of Duntryleague.

ST. MOLUA AND ST. LACHTAIN OF BEALACH FEABHRATH.

St. Molua was a native of the Co. Limerick.⁴² He returned from Clonfert Molua to found monasteries in Hy Fidgente. One at Imleach Grianan—the great centre of paganism—still bears his name.

St. Lachtain succeeded St. Molua at Clonfert.⁴³ The great attachment between St. Molua and St. Lachtain is related in the life of St. Molua, and it is probable that St. Lachtain of Achad Ur

³⁹ In the *Book of Leccan* one of the southern boundaries of Cormac Cas's portion is given as Cenn Abhrat.

⁴⁰ *Journal R. S. A. I.*, vol. xlviii, p. 113.

⁴¹ See *Proceedings R. I. A.*, vol. xxxiii, p. 463, and plate xl, (T. J. Westropp).

⁴² O'Hanlon's *Lives*, vol. viii, 4th August.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, vol. i, Jan. 12, p. 178, n. 2.

in Ossory (now Freshford) and *Bealach Feabhrath*, A.D. 622, was at one time connected with St. Molua's foundation at Imleach Grianan on Cenn Abrat or *Bealach Feabhrath*.

There is a tradition of a St. Lachtain near Macroom, related in the *Journal of the Cork H. and A. S.*, vol. iii, p. 275, C. Murphy (Cill-na-Martra), which leaves the question somewhat involved, but when closely examined, the evidence all points to a different saint of the same name, and the 10th March (as recorded in *A. F. M.*), not the 19th, is probably the correct day for commemoration.

ST. MOLUA'S WELL.

In the *Dindshenchas of Cend Febrat*, before referred to, the well of St. Molua is described by the poet. It is a very interesting example of the grafting of the Christian on to the pagan tradition. The well is north-east of the graves of the Ernai on Cush, over the grave of Lugaid (Lewy, Lua). It is the well "to which the name clave"—Molua's (My Lua's) well, being the same as the pagan name Lugaid—"at twice famous Cend Febrat," i.e., famous in pagan and in Christian times.

The well famed for beauty,
made without a pit and never failing,
is above the bed of the warrior Lugaid
by Dubthach's keep to the north-east.

The well to which the name clave,
at twice famous Cend Febrat,
on it as I have heard,
rest virtues and solemn spells.

Whoever gets it on his right hand
shall remain free from disease, free from spell
the son of God has confirmed it to him
so that it is his in perpetuity.

Whoever gets it on his left hand,
the King of the World of Life hath ordained—
this is his sudden doom before departure—
quick decay, or shortening of his days.

This well is described in the *Life of St. Molua* (*see supra*) as one that is held in great reverence by reason of the cures effected by prayers, and drinking the water. It is a spring rising in a green field outside the churchyard, without a tree, surrounding wall, or covering, such as are usually found at holy wells. "Without a pit, and never failing," as described by the poet, "above the bed of the warrior Lugaid."

CLAIRE.

In recent years some writers have questioned the generally-accepted signification and location of Claire. Sanas Cormaic has been referred to for a definition, and explains Claire as "Cliu-

Aire—*i.e.*, the ridge of Aire, *i.e.*, the top of the ridge of Cliach.”⁴⁴ The first part of this definition is unintelligible. Its position as explained in the second part would depend on the author’s idea of the extent of Clui (gen. Cliach), which, as shown in *Onomasticon*, was in most cases unduly restricted. The Samair was a southern boundary of Arada Cliach, and we have in the Tain bo Cuilgne, the “three Cairbres of Cliu,” and the “three Bruchnech of Cenn Abrat,” which would separate Claire from Cenn Abrat. However, Sanas Cormaic is not an authority to follow without question. The editor states, “his derivations are generally quite as ludicrous as those of most of the other word-splitters who have pursued their harmless calling.”

In the early texts all references to *Clar*, a plain, are translated in the genitive *Clair*, and, as occurs in some other cases, the genitive is frequently used for the nominative. From a study of the early texts it is evident that Claire or Clair represented a district in the Co. Limerick, though it has not been defined, possibly the plain north of the Samair.

In *Chronicon Scotorum*, p. 321, we read (A.D. 1113) of a predatory expedition of the Connacht men into Mumhain, until they reached Sliabh Crot, and Cláire, and Sliabh Cua. It should be noted that the annalist does not write “Sliabh Claire,” or “Dun Claire,” but “Claire” (a district or territory).

In O’Huidhrin’s poems⁴⁵ we find:—

The Deis Beg of the purple cloak
Is hereditary to the valorous tribe,
The heroes of Claire mentioned by us
Of the fairest bay of Erin.

Three septs of high hilarity
Are over Deis Beag of trees,
Fair over the smooth plain of the house of Tal,
The populous tribe of O’Luain.

The Ui-Duibhrosa of hot incursions
The Ui-Faircheallaigh of the land of Claire
True is the blood of the other tribe
By whom the tribe of the Mairtime were subdued.

The Dal g-Cais in the battalions of Claire
Have pure silver and with it
Gold purely smelted;
The pleasant host are not indigent.

⁴⁴ O’Donovan’s note to this (W. Stokes’ edition, p. 35) is: “Claire was the ancient name of the mountain of Sliabh Riach, in the south of the Co. Limerick, Mullach Cliach the summit or highest land in the territory of Cliach in which this mountain is situated.” It is stated that O’Donovan gave very little attention to the topography of Coshlea, and made many mistakes, and, in my opinion, this was a serious one. He afterwards withdrew from this statement, and identified Claire with Duntryleague.

⁴⁵ *Poems of O’Dubhagain and O’Huidhrin*, p. 128.

These three septs were of "the land of Claire," from which it would appear that Claire was in the territory of Desi beg (now "Small County"), which must have been more extensive than is generally supposed, and that the Dal g-Cais were rulers there. The sept O'Luain occupied "the smooth plain" of the Dal g-Cais in Co. Limerick, or the plain "of the house of Tal." This would extend around Knockany and Hospital, on by Elton to Cormac Cas's fort on Duntryleague, all of which is north of the Samair. It was the Dal g-Cais who subdued the Mairtine tribe around Knockany, driving them from the plain. The Mairtine were said to be the champions of Cliu.

In the Plea Rolls of 1289, Thomas Fitzmaurice is granted "five Knights fees" in the tuath of Eleuri, which is in the centred of Fontemel." It has been suggested⁴⁶ that Eleuri was Clari, Clare, which is most likely, as Fontemel (Fontymchyll) corresponded with the west part of Coshlea, with Kilmallock, and part of Coshma, and included Duntryleague. A *tuath* would mean a fairly extensive district, though the exact limitations have not been defined.

In the *Book of Leinster*⁴⁷ Gilla-Coemain sang of the Kings in Munster.

.

Fell the King of Clair in battle
In Mage by Muirethach.

.

(Melge fell) In the battle by Mogcorb of Clair.

Of these Muirethach killed Duach, who reigned B.C. 899-909. Mogcorb reigned in the sixth century, B.C.

The editors of these early texts explain Clair as referring to the plain, and Duntryleague as Mullach Claire.

DUNTRYLEAGUE.

The original fort of Cormac Cas, Dun-tri-liag, was supposed to have been on the south-west side of the hill. The entire hill is now known as Duntryleague. It is not the low, unimpressive eminence it has been described. It is close on a thousand feet high, not much less than the general plateau of Slieveveagh, between the peaks, and as the highest point of Claire might properly be called Sliabh Claire. It is also the summit of of Arada Cliach.

Olioll Olum⁴⁸ is said to have spent the latter years of his life (it is said 30 years), and died "on the summit of Sliabh Claire." O'Donovan identified this with Duntryleague, and the fine dolmen

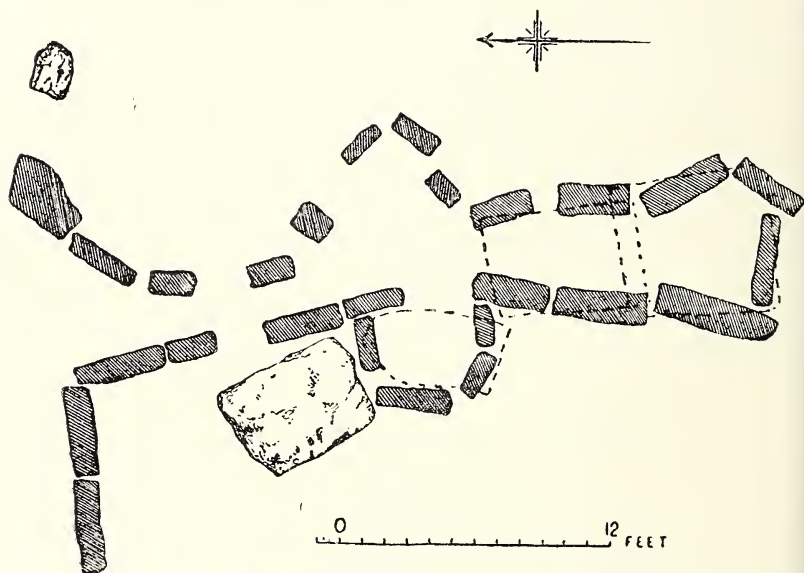
⁴⁶ *Proceedings R. I. A.* (Westropp), vol. xxxiii, p. 37, and note.

⁴⁷ *Todd Lecture Series (R. I. A.)*, vol. iii, pp. 175, 187.

⁴⁸ *Agallamh na Senorach*, p. 129.

on the mount was taken to be Olioll Olum's burial place. Since O'Donovan's time the editors of Irish texts have accepted the location of Sliabh Claire, until the discovery of the stone circles on Slieveveagh, during the last Ordnance Survey, induced some writers to connect Cenn Abrat with Sliabh Claire.

Motives have been assigned to O'Donovan for forming this opinion—a desire to find a date for this dolmen.⁴⁹ It is admitted



DUNTRYLEAGUE CROMLEAC—PLAN.

(Measured and drawn by P. J. Lynch.)

that some Irish monarchs elected to be buried in the tomb of an earlier race of kings, the transepts on the plan of this monument would suggest such an arrangement. Graves of the dolmen type are to be found in some ancient Christian cemeteries in Ireland. But we need not question O'Donovan's opinions on that point, if we can find sufficient evidence on other grounds to justify him in stating this was Sliabh Claire. Possibly its position north of the Samair, within the tribal boundary of the Dergthene, and the fact that the rocky summit of Cenn Abrat could not afford a site for a royal residence influenced him. The frequent mention of Claire in the Irish texts points to its importance, and he must have noticed that it is never described as identical with Cenn Abrat, or Sliabh Riach.

⁴⁹ See *Limerick Field Club Journal*, vol. iii, p. 222, on date of dolmen.

I have no intention of attempting to defend O'Donovan. He does not require it. No criticism can lessen the general admiration for that great Irish antiquary. The facilities for travel and research work that we enjoy were not available in his time, and in many cases his statements are now found to be inaccurate. I have called attention to some of them in this district, but I have been always slow to do so until I felt I was on firm ground. His mistakes were few indeed when compared with the vast amount of information revealed to us by his life work. He was engaged, as we are, searching for the truth, and if we have succeeded where he failed, a share of the merit should be his, for having, in many cases, given us an inspiring and helpful lead.

The *Metrical Dindshenchas*,⁵⁰ before quoted, provides some interesting information which gives to Claire as a place name in this locality a new significance.

Amongst the lands granted by King John's charter to the Abbey of St. Mary de Magio (Monasteranenagh) was "Cuilleán in Corballi."⁵¹

The poet of the *Dindshenchas*, before quoted, after being shown "truly and in full."

"every fairy mound that is at Cend Febrat," continues:

I saw thereafter, the strong keep,
wherein is battle-force unfailing:
on hazel-set Mullach Cuillen,⁵²
wherein abides the stern-smiting thickset hero.

⁵⁰ *R. I. A., Todd Lecture Series* (E. Gwynn), vol. x, Cend Febrat, p. 227.

⁵¹ I have already referred to the importance of defining this ancient district of Corballi, in connection with Oenach Culi, as the name only survives in one townland, in the north-west of Galbally parish. It is clear that Corballi must have extended beyond the area of the present townland, in former times. The name appears on the D. S. parish maps (reproductions edited by George Grierson, R.I.A.), on the north-east of Galbally parish. *Corballi parish* is mentioned by Seward in *Topographia Hibernica*, as in the Diocese of Emly. A parish of "*Gorbally*" is shown on the Down Survey barony maps, Co. Tipperary, adjoining the present parish of Galbally on the west; this now forms part of Clonbeg parish in Co. Tipperary, the portions in the Co. Limerick have merged in the parish of Galbally, and the name has disappeared from that district (north of Duntryleague).

It has suggested itself to me, that Gallbhaile (Galbally) or foreigner's town, was an older name in this district than is supposed (*Joyce, 1st series*, p. 97), and included the northern portion of the present parish of Galbally in the Co. Limerick, and portion of the Co. Tipperary. The southern portion was known as Natherlagh (Aherloe) in early times. The northern portion may have been known (see D. S. Map) as Gorbally (a corrupt form of Galbally) at one time. The change from *l* to *r* sometimes occurs (*Joyce, 1st series*, p. 51). It is easy to understand how Gorbally would be written Corballi (Corballi) in the official records, and in this way we find Oenach Culi, and Cuilleán, in Corballi (Gorbally, Galbally) an extensive district.

⁵² The summit or highest point of Cuillen.

It is clear from these lines that the "strong keep" of Mullach Cuillen is outside Cend Febrat, and we find "Cuilleán in Corballi." The identity of the "*stern-smiting* hero" is revealed in the penultimate verse, in which the poet, after a eulogy on the "Cend Febrat branch of the Tuatha Dé" as "above the ranks of the noble Druids in general," proceeds to name some who have memorials. See *supra*.

Febrat, Currech,
 "and the Head of the stern-smiting Claire,
 "and the Head of Aife his wife
 which ancient speech of sages touches upon."

Thus we find Claire of the Tuatha Dé to be the "stern-smiting hero" of Mullach Cuillen in Corballi, who "abides" in the "strong keep" on the hill. It is only reasonable to suppose that the fort or keep on Cuillen, before the construction of Dun-tri-liag, was known as Dun Claire.⁵³ This being so, the mount and district would naturally take its name from this god of the Tuatha Dé, as Any derives its name from the goddess Aine (Aine cliach). Aife, the wife of Claire, was also commemorated in Gleneefy, on the north side of Duntryleague, and perhaps gave a name to that district. We read⁵⁴ that Aedh, who killed Molloy at Belach Lechta, "was of the Deise-bec from the borders of Aifi." I was informed that horse races were held at Gleneefy within living memory.

As to the original Dun Claire, we find only two royal forts are mentioned in connection with the reign of Olioll Olum, Dun Claire and Bruree. The description of the battle of Cenn Abrat (see *supra*) and the disposition of the forces there, prove conclusively that the fort on Cenn Abrat marked "Doonglara" (or Dun gClaire) could not have been a stronghold of Olioll Olum's, and we naturally revert to Duntryleague. In time, when the Dalcassians extended their territory, and when the original fort on Duntryleague had been destroyed, then this fort, Doonglara, may have been known as Dun gClaire, though Keating calls it Cenn Febrat, but for our purpose this is not of great importance. There is a legend that Fer Fi burned Dun Claire, the palace of Olioll Olum.

The existence of a fort on the mountain at the time of the construction of Duntryleague, is quite clear from the legend⁵⁵ relating to the building of Duntryleague by Cormac Cas, son of Olioll, to heal his wound received at the battle of Samhain.

"At *Dun ar Sléibh*, or *Dun* on the mountain, he had a fort built, a good town, which was so that in its midst was a sparkling and translucent loch-well. About the spring, he had a great and royal house made; but immediately at its brink three huge pillar stones were

⁵³ In this case, I should say, Claire was cognate with *clarus*, bright, shining, famous, renowned (Fr. *clair*).

⁵⁴ *Cog. Gael re Gall* (Todd), p. 93.

⁵⁵ *Agallamh na Senorach*, p. 129. O'Grady's *Silva Gadelica*.

planted, and there (with its head to the eastward, and betwixt the said three columns of stones) the King's bed was set, while out of a *Cuach* or else a bowl, a confidential warrior of his people splashed water on his head continually. There, too, he died, and in that fort was laid in subterranean excavation, whence *dun-tri-liag* or 'fort of three pillar stones' by way of name is given to it."

It is perfectly clear that this legend refers to a fort specially constructed, and for a special purpose, at the *dun on the mountain*. The site of *Dun-tri-liag* is supposed to be on the south-west slope of the mount. The earlier *Dun* was presumably nearer the summit, or *Dun-tri-liag* may have been constructed as an extension or *annexe* to the original *Dun* on the mountain, so as to enclose the well, and both duns have been destroyed. All the references would lead to the conclusion that the earlier fort was the *Dun Claire* of *Olioll Olum's* time.

In vol. xvi, *Todd Lecture Series R. I. A.*, Dr. Kuno Meyer translates a very old tract, believed to be of the seventh century, on *Olioll Olum* and others. We read (p. 33): "*Ailill* was in *Uachtar Clári* (the height of *Clare*), and the fort of *Ailill* in *Clare* is seen from afar, and is not found near." This would describe a fort on the summit of the district of *Clare*, and could not apply to *Doonglara*.

THE SIEGE OF KNOCKLONG.

In the tract *Forbais Droma Damhgaire*, from the *Book of Lismore* (sometimes known as *The Siege of Knocklong*), much light is thrown on this district of *Claire*.⁵⁶ It is unnecessary to enter into the details of the quarrel, in the third century, between *Cormac Mac Art*, Monarch of Ireland, and *Fiacha Muilleathan*, King of Munster. *Cormac* invaded Munster, and encamped at *Knocklong*. *Fiacha*, with the men of Munster, were encamped on the hill opposite "*Cenn Claire*." Dr. Joyce (in error) states⁵⁷ this was *Slieve Claire*, now called *Slieveveagh*. A careful study of the tale would lead us to believe that "*Cenn Claire*" was the present *Duntryleague*, which would also be "a hill opposite" (to the east), and at a reasonable distance for the opposing armies. The whole story is wild, and full of fancy, written to glorify the power of Druidism, and describes the wonders worked by its spells and incantations. *Mogha Corb* (of *Claire*), son of *Cormac Cas*, was a leader in the army of Munster.

The Druids of *Cormac* dried up all the springs, streams, and lakes of the district, and the Munster men were dying of thirst. The Munster king sent to *Iveragh* (*Kerry*) for the assistance of the famous Druid, *Mogha Ruith*. He consented to come, provided he

⁵⁶ Windele, *MSS. R.I.A.*

⁵⁷ *Names of Places, 1st Series*, p. 101. Dr. Joyce admitted to the writer that he was in error in identifying *Slieveveagh* as *Sliab Claire*.

received a gift of new territory from the Munster King, which was agreed to. The Druid stipulated that he should select the territory himself.

As he journeyed from Kerry, the soils of different districts were submitted to him, and were all rejected. Then they came to "the house of Foranain Finn, which is called Cenn Abhra to-day. I shall not leave this place, said Mogha Ruith, until is chosen my land and country, for it is not on reaching the army that I can compel them to give me land or country." Then was brought to him "the earth of Cliu Mail Maic Ugaíne. In refusing it, he said:

"A wet laký cliu, great the Conach,
Great its waters, great its rivers,
Great its sorrows, many its evils,
I will not accept it."

Then was brought to him the earth of Fir Muighe (Fermoy), which he accepted. His halting on Cenn Abhra before reaching the army at Cenn Claire shows that these were different places. This is an important point for those who consider Sliab Claire and Cenn Abrat, or Slieveragh, to be the same, nor could it be reasonably supposed that the Munster army were encamped on *any of the peaks of Slieveragh*.

After accepting of Fermoy, "Mogha Ruith then began rooting up the ground in search of water." He also prayed to his gods, and "when his prayer was over the water burst asunder the fastness of the land, and it flowed through the glens and rivers and springs." ⁵⁸

In the tract there are many references to Cenn Claire, and "Claire" (as a district). The last feat of magic, performed by Mogha Ruith was to light fires, which would strike the enemy with terror, and burn the woods and forests in the central plain of Munster, which is described as adjoining Claire. This was successful, and the fires lighted "did not leave tree or grass on the plain of Munster." Fires lighted south of the Samair, would not have this result, and the description strongly supports the conjecture that Claire was a district north of the Samair, in which were the Deise-bee, that it joined the great plain of Munster and took his

⁵⁸ In this version of the tale, though Mogha Ruith's disciple, Caenvar, plays an important part in the wonderful feats of magic performed during the siege, he has no connection with the supply of water. Local tradition points to the well of Canvore (see *Joyce*, p. 102), but this would appear to be an additional adornment to this tale of wonder. O'Curry (*MSS. Materials*, p. 272) gives a rational explanation of the name. His version is that Mogh Ruith shot an arrow into the air, and where it fell (near Emly Grennan) water burst forth, and the well is called *Tobar Ceann moir*, Well of Great Head, or Spring. There are different wells connected with the legend; at Knocklong, Tobar Curriheen is pointed out as the well. See *Ord. Sheet, Co. Limerick*, 41, and Lenihan's *History of Limerick*, p. 735.

name from Cenn Claire, or Mullach Claire (now Duntryleague), "wherein abides Claire," "the stern-smiting hero" of the Tuatha Dé, beside Aife, his wife, of Gleneefy, at the same hill.

ST. PATRICK'S JOURNEY.

In the *Tripartite Life* we read that St. Patrick, after passing from Tipperary into the County Limerick, "desired to remain beside Clar, at the rath of Corbre and Broecan; but he was not permitted, and Patrick said there never would be a king or bishop of the race of Colman,⁵⁹ who opposed him. He also said that the place would belong to himself afterwards, and left a man of his people here after a long period—i.e., Caemhan of Cill-Rath.

I have already suggested that the site of Kilrath was at or near the old church, which was removed at Lackelly, near to which would be the fort of Corpre and Broecan.⁶⁰

According to the *Tripartite Life*, St. Patrick, when he arrived at Clar, did not proceed further south, but turned north by Grean to Limerick;⁶¹ so that Clar, and the other landmarks beside it, must be looked for north of the Samair. The early Christian missionaries were at all times anxious to establish themselves at the great centres of paganism, and the early texts all point to Claire as an important one.

The tradition of the Diocese is that he was at Knockpatrick, near Foynes, before he visited Ardpatrik.⁶²

TEMPLNALAWE, Teampull na Láime.

I have before referred to the suggestion⁶³ that Kilrath was the old church site now known as Templenalawe. As St. Patrick did not travel to Ardpatrik by Templenalaw this church could not be the Kilrath of the *Tripartite Life*; but tradition has preserved in that district a very interesting legend connecting it with St. Patrick.

On the eve of Christmas, St. Patrick, journeying from Ardpatrik eastwards, reached the townland of Ballinanima, and sought shelter for himself and his followers, from a widow. The widow was unable to provide a repast, as she had no fuel, and had a cow about calving in a

⁵⁹ It is worthy of note that Oenach Colman is mentioned with Oenach Culi as a cemetery of the men of Munster.

⁶⁰ Glenbrohane, south of the Samair, may be the glen of the deer, or fawn, from *Bruachan*, a fawn.

⁶¹ In the *Agallamh*, St. Patrick is described as *crossing the Samair* and journeying south to Ardpatrik, but as this is pure romance, it is the *Tripartite*—which is presumed to be history—that must be relied on.

⁶² In the *Agallamh na Senorach*, Cailte is somewhat confused on this point, as when chanting the praises of Ardpatrik, he describes how "I and Ossian of renown, we used to embark in currachs! as I frequented its waves, and its (abutting) hills, I had the severities of the green sea." This could have occurred at Knockpatrick, but Ardpatrik is 30 miles from the estuary of the Shannon.

⁶³ *Journal R. S. A. I.*, vol. xlviii, p. 116 (T. J. Westropp).

week's time. The saint sent one of his men to see the cow, and he returned to report that the cow had calved. The woman was delighted, but still regretted the want of fuel. The saint told one of his men to cut some rushes, and she was astonished to see the rushes make such a fine fire. Rushes cut green off the same field blaze like a torch; and in this townland there is always a cow to calve on Christmas eve. The veal was cooked, and the cow had given a copious supply of milk.

Next morning the visitors departed, but one of the men, coveting the billhook which quartered the calf, took it with him. After the party left, the widow missed the billhook, and sent a messenger after them. They were overtaken at the foot of Slieveveagh, and the messenger, addressing the head of the band, made known the loss. The Saint ordered that whoever had the billhook should deliver it up. Then one of the men took it from where he had it concealed, and handed it to the Saint. The Saint cut off the hand that reached the billhook to him, and going inside the fence, buried it there, giving the place the name *leat pe lám*, which means beside the hand. A graveyard was then fenced in by his directions. A church was built here afterwards; it was known as *Teampull na Láime*, the church of the hand.

Such is "the tale as it was told to me," and certainly there are few of the sites of our ancient churches to which tradition has proved so kind.

There are not many places in Ireland of greater interest to the antiquary than this district around Coshlea. Here, long before the dawn of history, tribes had settled, whose story, as related by successive bards, and shanachies, in time lost all the elements of truth or probability, and now forms portion of our valuable store of legendary lore; whilst their eponyms may possibly occupy a place in our Irish pantheon. The district is identified in many ways with some of the principal personages in Irish Epic literature. In historic times it was the cradle of the great Dalcassian clan. The Norsemen who reigned at Limerick made frequent incursions here, and it was the scene of some fierce encounters between these hereditary foes.

In these notes I have endeavoured to clear up some of the doubts and contradictions connected with the topography, and to substantiate what I have already written on this district, and I laboured to be as concise as the subject would admit of. I omitted all references to the personages mentioned in the text, or their places in history or mythology beyond what was essentially necessary for my purpose. It may be considered that this was a disadvantage; but I purposely refrained from extending my notes in that direction, so as to avoid the possibility of confusing the subject, which was mainly topographical.

For the reasons stated in the first section of these notes I have omitted to deal with the sites of the different Aenachs located in Coshlea.

The physical features of the district are impressive—Slieveveagh, that home of gods and warriors, stands like a sentinel keeping watch over the great plain through which flows what remains of the historic Samair. Out of the plain, west and east, arise, like

great natural mausoleums, Knockany and Duntryleague, wherein dwell Aine and Claire and Aife.

Such a district yields to the antiquary great inducements to inquire into its legends, and learn something of its ancient history. It was in this spirit of inquiry I first commenced the survey, which I have continued in this paper.

In conclusion, I may add that by saving Lackelly—that ancient centre of devotion—from oblivion, endeavouring to locate Loch Luinge and Belach Leghta, and directing attention to Tara Luachra, Carn Meic Nairbreach, and the home of “the stern smiting hero,” Claire, on Mullach Cuillen, in Corballi, I hoped, amongst other things, to increase the interest of the members of our Society in the study of the legends and history of the country in connection with its topography.

The illustrations to these notes are from photographs kindly made for me by the late Dr. George Fogerty, who was always willing to help every worker on the archaeology of his district.

To save cost of printing, the Publication Committee has compelled me to curtail my original notes considerably, and omit quotations and explanations as much as possible. This is somewhat unsatisfactory to the reader, who must refer to the authorities where necessary, but, under the circumstances, it could not be avoided.

THE EARLIEST IRISH REPRESENTATIONS OF THE CRUCIFIXION.

By THE REV. DOM LOUIS GOUGAUD, O.S.B.

(Communicated by E. C. R. ARMSTRONG, F.S.A., *Vice-President*.)

[Read 11 MAY 1920.]

WHEN we examine the earliest representations of the Crucifixion as executed in Ireland, we discover so striking a likeness between them all and such special characteristics, if we compare them with foreign productions of the same or an earlier age, that we are led to consider them as belonging to an iconographic tradition *sui generis*, among the works of art of the Middle Ages.

The purpose of this article is to show the peculiarities of conception and technique that characterise the treatment of this subject by the Irish. Hence an enumeration of the works of art which it is proposed to examine must first be given here.

* * *

The scene of the crucifixion is represented: 1° in illuminated MSS., 2° on sculptured stone crosses, 3° in metal work.¹

I. ILLUMINATED MSS.—1° THE ST. GALL GOSPELS (*Stiftsbibliothek* No. 51), an Irish MS. of the 8th century.—The miniatures in the MS., and among them the Crucifixion, are unquestionably of the Irish type. This crucifixion has been reproduced many times (see my *Repertoire des fac-similés des manuscrits irlandais*, *Revue celtique*, xxviii, 1920, pp. 12-13), but attention must be called to the fact that in the plate given by F. Keller and in the copy by William Reeves the drawing, reproduced from a tracing, gives the reverse of the original; ² so that the lance-bearer, who is on the left side of Christ in the original, is here represented on the right. Fig. 1.

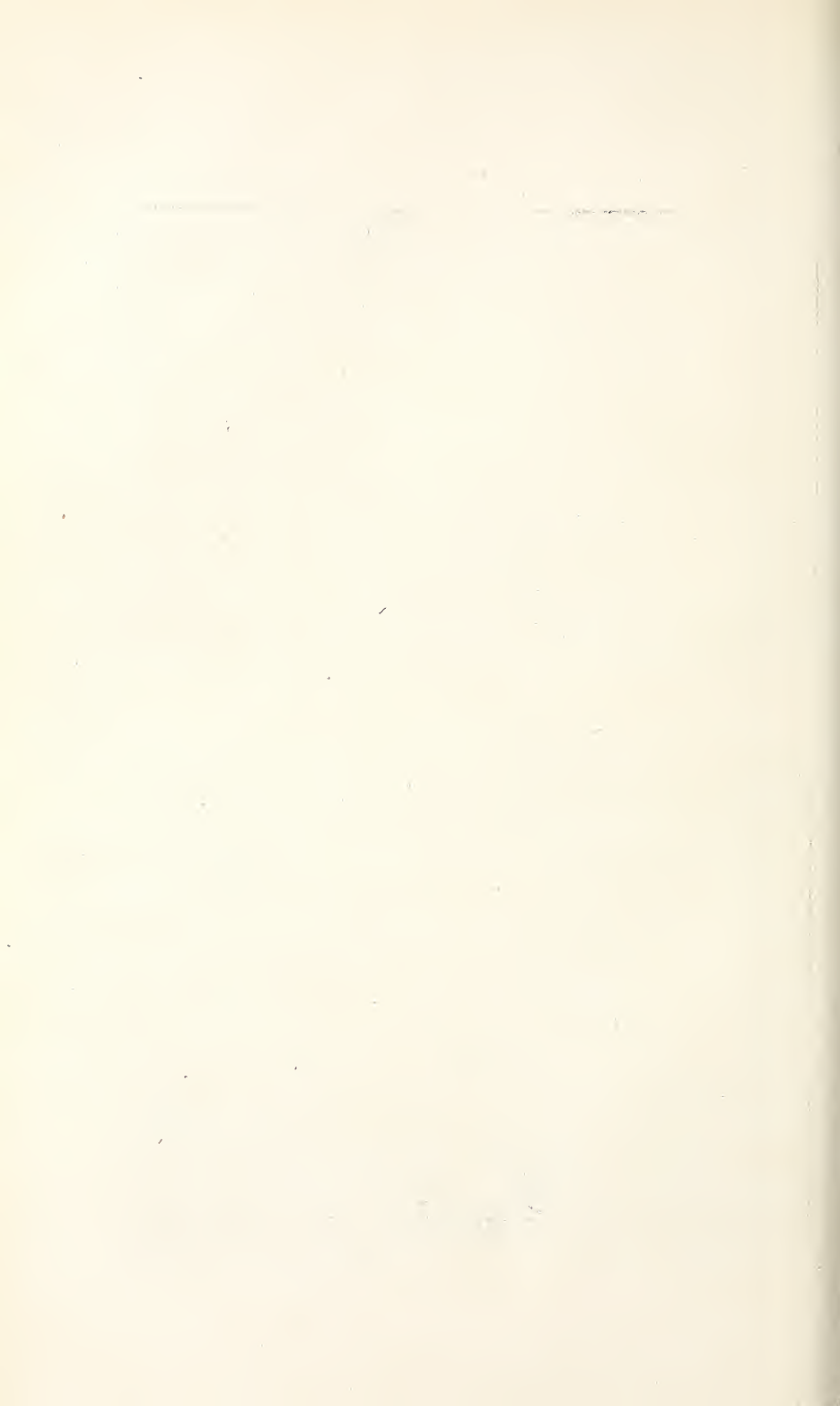
2° The SOUTHAMPTON PSALTER (St. John's College Library, Cambridge, No. 59).—This Irish MS. is considered by Dr.

¹ It is both a duty and a pleasure for me to offer my grateful thanks in this place to Messrs. R. I. Best and Henry S. Crawford, as well as to the Librarians of St. John's College, Cambridge, and of Durham Cathedral, who have given me such valuable assistance in procuring the photographs which are reproduced in this article.

² Ferd. Keller, *Bilder und Schriftzüge in den irischen Manuscripten der schweizerischen Bibliotheken* (*Mittheilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich*, vii, 1951, pl. 5); William Reeves, *Early Irish Calligraphy* (*Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, viii, 1860, facing p. 301).



Figures 1 and 2.—The Crucifixion from the St. Gall Gospels and the Southampton Psalter.



Montague Rhodes James to date from the 10th century (?). He gives a description of fol. 35^v showing the Crucifixion, in his *Descriptive Catal. of the MSS. in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1913, p. 78). Fig. 2.

3^o THE DURHAM GOSPELS (Chapter Library Durham: A. ii. 17).—This MS. was written in England in the 8th century. "It is difficult," writes Mr. C. H. Turner, "not to connect it with the great days of Jarrow, Wearmouth and Lindisfarne,"³ where the artistic influence of the *Scotti* was very powerful.⁴ This picture, conformable to the Irish models, is described in the text accompanying plate 30 in the New Palæographical Society Album. The picture itself is in such a decayed condition that it is impossible to give a satisfactory reproduction of it. Fig. 3.

4^o THE WURZBURG EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL (University Library, Würzburg, Mp. th. f. 69), a MS. of the 8th century, wrongly connected with St. Kilian. Nevertheless more than one peculiarity of the Irish genius is to be noticed in the Crucifixion painted as the frontispiece. A notice of this illumination has been given *inter alia* by Johannes Reil, *Die frühchristlichen Darstellungen der Kreuzigung Christi* (J. Ficker's *Studien über christliche Denkmäler*, ser. 2, vol. 2, Leipzig, 1904), p. 120, and by St. Beissel, *Geschichte der Evangelienbücher in der ersten Hälfte des Mittelalters*, Freiburg i. Br., 1906, p. 120. Reproductions of it may be found in the following books: J. Reil, *op. cit.*, fig. 6. *Archæologia*, xliii, p. 141; N. H. J. Westlake, *An elementary History of Design in mural Painting*, London, 1911, II, p. 130. Fig. 4.

II. SCULPTURED STONE CROSSES.—1^o High Cross at CLONMACNOIS (King's Co.). On the western side of this cross the Crucifixion is sculptured. See art. "Clonmacnois" in Cabrol and Leclercq's *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, fig. 3072. The cross has been assigned to the first quarter of the 10th century. See art. quoted, col. 2018. Fig. 5.

2^o MUIREDACH'S CROSS at Monasterboice (Co. Louth), a monument of the 10th century, according to G. Petrie and Lord Dunraven. See fig. in Margaret Stokes' *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, London, 1875, p. 136; Prof. R. A. S. Macalister, *Muirédach*, p. 73. Fig. 6.

3^o Cross of DURROW (King's Co.) of the 11th century (?). Crucifixion sculptured on the western side. Fig. in M. Stokes' *High Crosses of Castledermot and Durrow*, London, 1898. Fig. 7.

³ C. H. Turner, *Iter Dunelmense* (*Journal of Theol. Studies*, x, 1909, p. 537).

⁴ F. E. Warren, *The Influence of Celtic Art in England* (*Church Quarterly Review*, lxxv, 1912, pp. 18-19).

4° Cross of KELLS (Co. Meath). Fig. in the *Proceed. of the Antiquaries of Scotland*, xxxi, 1896-99, p. 328.

5° South Cross at CASTLEDERMOT (Co. Kildare).—Crucifixion on the western side. Fig. 8.

6° Northern Cross at CASTLEDERMOT.—Crucifixion on the eastern side. Fig. in *The High Crosses of Castledermot*.

The normal position for the Crucifixion on Irish Crosses is the west side. The present position of this Cross, as well as that of No. 8, is probably not the original one.

It is difficult to give with accuracy the dates of the six last mentioned monuments; but most of them must have been erected between the 10th and the 13th centuries. These monuments are wheel-crosses.⁵ The scene of the Crucifixion generally occupies the centre of the cross.

7° Cross of DRUMCLIFF (Co. Sligo).—The Crucifixion represented on the western side is in a rather decayed condition. Marg. Stokes has given representations of it in her *Notes on the High Crosses of Moone, Drumcliff, Termonfechin and Killamery* (*Transact. of the R. I. Acad.*, xxxi, 1896-1901, figs. 34 and 35).

8° Cross of TERMONFECHIN (Co. Louth). Crucifixion on the eastern side. Fig. 9.

9° A carved stone in INISKEA, off Co. Mayo, northern island. Fig. 13.

10.—MONASTERBOICE, west cross. The Crucifixion is carved on the west side and presents several peculiarities. Fig. 10.

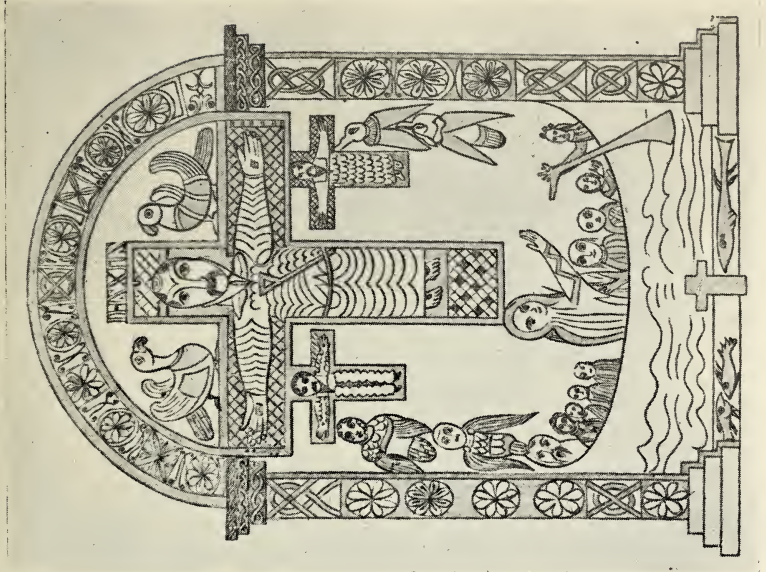
11.—KELLS, south cross. The Crucifixion here is not in the centre, but on the shaft. Fig. 11.

12.—CARNDONAGH (Co. Donegal). The erect slab in the graveyard bears a Crucifixion, the cross of which has expanded ends and a plaited stem. Fig. 12.

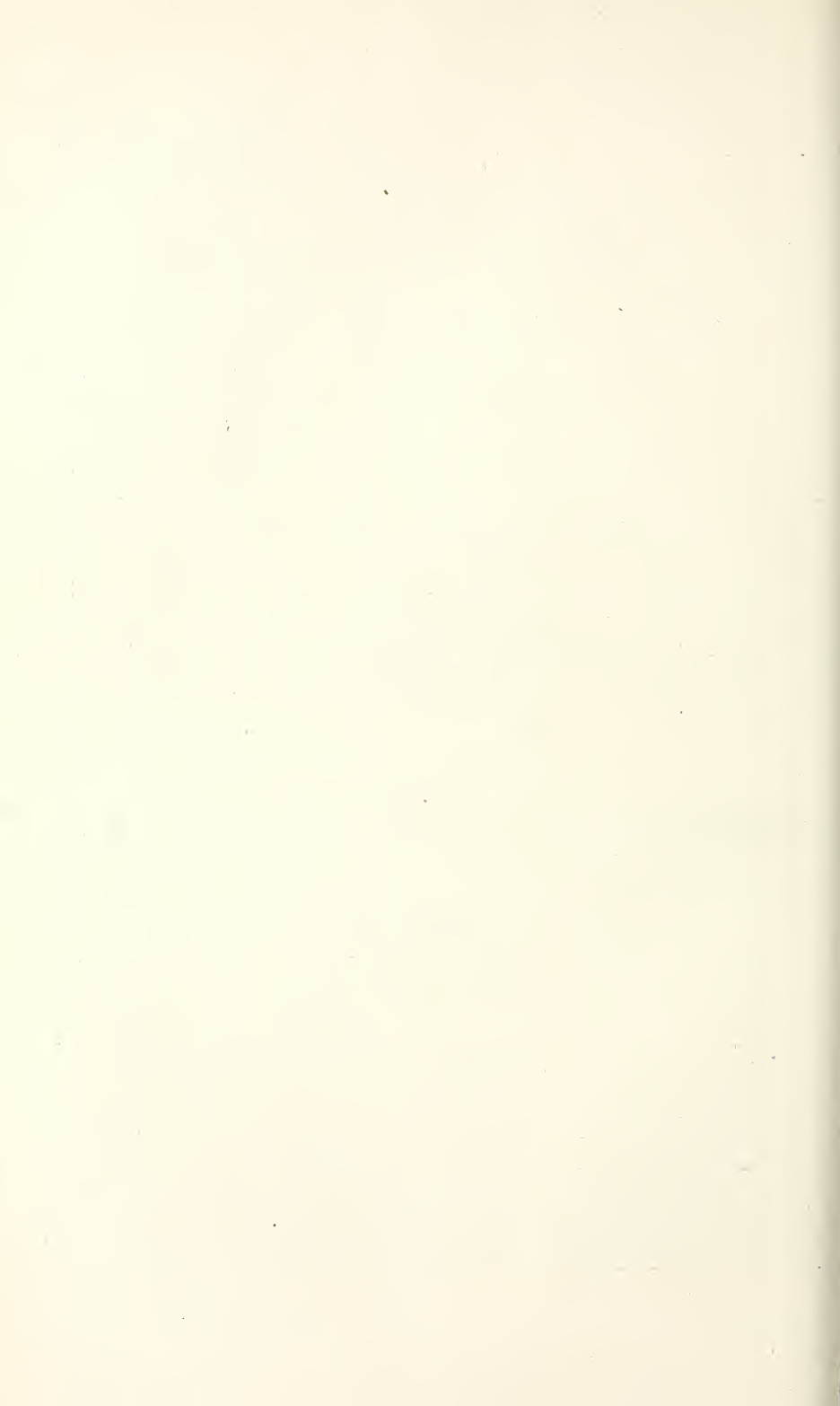
13.—Lintel of the doorway of MAGHERA church (Co. Londonderry). It is much worn and in a position which renders a good photograph almost impossible. Mr. H. S. Crawford has, however, given one in this *Journal* (1915, p. 247). "As there was plenty of space," he observes, "the sculptor has placed eleven or twelve figures at the sides, and I think there was a row of angels above."

This enumeration does not pretend to be exhaustive. A list of early Irish representations of the Crucifixion carved on stone (46 in number) is to be found in the Appendix. This valuable Appendix has been drawn up by Mr. H. S. Crawford, who has

⁵ See L. Gougaud, *L'Art celtique chrétien* (*Revue de l'Art Chétien*, March-April, 1911, pp. 91-92).



Figures 3 and 4.—The Crucifixion from the Durham Gospels and the Würzburg Epistles.



also kindly drawn my attention to several of the above-mentioned examples.

III. METAL PLAQUES.—1° THE ATHLONE BRONZE PLAQUE (National Museum, Dublin). "It was probably the mounting for a book-cover; and the early character of the plaque is indicated by the good trumpet pattern with which it is decorated, resembling that of the MSS."⁶ Fig. 14.

2° THE DUNGANNON BRONZE PLAQUE in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh. Fig. in Museum Catalogue, p. 288 (Edinburgh, 1892).

3° and 4°.—Two other metal plaques showing the same iconographic peculiarities as the former and also found in Ireland, reproductions of which have been given by J. O. Westwood in *Facsimiles of Miniatures and Ornaments in Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS.* (London, 1868), p. 51, figs. 7 and 8, and by J. Romilly Allen in *Early Christian Symbolism of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1887), p. 146, fig. 35. One is shown in fig. 15.

* * *

Let us now examine how each detail of the scene of the Crucifixion has been thought out and executed in Ireland: the shape of the cross, the personal appearance of Christ (body, raiment, &c.), and of other personages there represented.

I. SHAPE OF THE CROSS.—It is generally in the form of a Latin cross. On some of the stone crosses and in several others, such as on the Athlone plaque and in the Durham MS., the usual form of cross is altered by the substitution of curves instead of the clean cut right angles at the junction of the arms and shaft.

In the extremely primitive drawing of the Crucifixion in the Southampton Psalter (fig. 2) there is no shaft, and only a horizontal piece of wood represents the arms of the cross.

II. THE FIGURE OF CHRIST.—1° General appearance.—The head is not inclined, the eyes are open in conformity with the earliest images of Christ on the cross.⁷ On the Athlone plaque, however, the eyelids are closed (fig. 14). Generally the figure is represented with long hair and a beard. The arms are extended upon the wood of the cross, except in the miniature in the Southampton Psalter where they affect the attitude of the Orante.

⁶ George Coffey, *Guide to the Celtic Antiquities of the Christian Period preserved in the National Museum*, Dublin, 1910, p. 70.

⁷ See the carved panel of the door of St. Sabina in Rome (fifth century) and a carved ivory in the British Museum (fifth or sixth centuries) in Sérour d'Agincourt, *Histoire de l'Art par les monuments; Sculpture*, pl. 22, p. 182, and *Guide to the Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities in the British Museum*, London, 1903, pl. 2.

The entire want of skill of most of the ancient Celtic artists and craftsmen in their attempts to represent the human figure is notorious.⁸ The most august of all the religious subjects appears in our eyes as a veritable caricature, though executed by men who were far from having any such intention. It is not necessary to lay stress on the absence of pathos in these crucifixions, when not only dignity, but any kind of expression and even any elementary notion of anatomy are completely lacking.

2° CLOTHING.—During the first ten centuries Christ on the cross is represented with a simple *perizonium* around the loins,⁹ or clothed in a long tunic with or without sleeves.¹⁰

In the Irish MSS., the body of the Crucified is always clothed, and almost always in sculpture, as far as the ravages of time allow us to judge.

On the Athlone plaque the figure wears a long robe with sleeves, but on the other metal plaques only the *perizonium*.

In the miniatures the drapery is quite *sui generis*. It is not the clinging drapery of the Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Norman pictures, in which the figures appear as if they had just come out of the water. The drapery resembles bands of linen wrapped round the body in every direction and forming symmetrical folds (figs. 1 and 2). Confident in their skill in the treatment of interlaced work, in which they are masters indeed, the Irish miniaturists have introduced this complicated design even into costume, some figures being literally clothed in this kind of ornament.

The raiment of Christ in the Würzburg Epistles is decorated with scale-like designs. In the Durham Gospels only the lower part of the tunic can be seen, the rest is covered by a sort of chasuble with symmetrical folds.

⁸ L. Gougaud, *Les chrétientés celtiques*, Paris, 1911, p. 338, and *Revue de l'art chrétien*, loc. cit., p. 103.

⁹ Door of St. Sabina; Ivory in the British Museum; Ivory of Cividale, eighth century (F. X. Kraus, *Real Encyclopædie der christlichen Alterthümer*, II, fig. 372); Sacramentary of Gellone, fol. 143, eighth century (M. Engels, *Die Kreuzigung Christi in der bildenden Kunst*, Luxemburg, 1899, pl. 18, fig. 56); Diptych of Rambona, ninth century (Smith and Cheetham, *Dict. of Christ. Antiquities*, I., p. 515); Gospel-book of Angers, 24 [20], fol. 7^v, ninth century.

¹⁰ Silver disc of Perm, fifth-sixth century, (J. Reil, *Die früh christlichen Darstellungen der Kreuzigung Christi*, fig. 3); Syriac MS. of Rabula, A.D. 586 (Smith and Chatham, *op. cit.*, I, p. 515); Encolpion and crucifix of Monza, sixth and seventh century (Kraus, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 97 and 98); Mosaics of John VII, eighth century (A. L. Frothingham, *Monuments of Christian Rome*, New York, 1908, p. 295); Lectionary of Brussels, No. 9428, ninth century (Engels, *op. cit.*, pl. 18, fig. 59); Codex Egberti, at Treves, tenth century (H. Detzel, *Christliche Ikonographie*, Freiburg i. Br., 1894, fig. 168, p. 104); Runic Stone of Jelling (Jutland), tenth century (Fr. Sesselberg, *Die frühmittelalter Kunst der germ. Völker*, Berlin, 1897, p. 54, fig. 187).



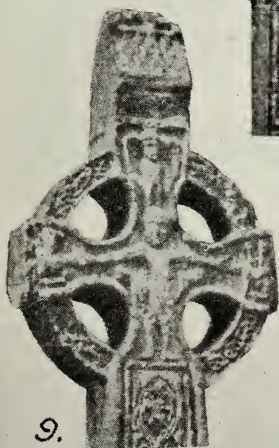
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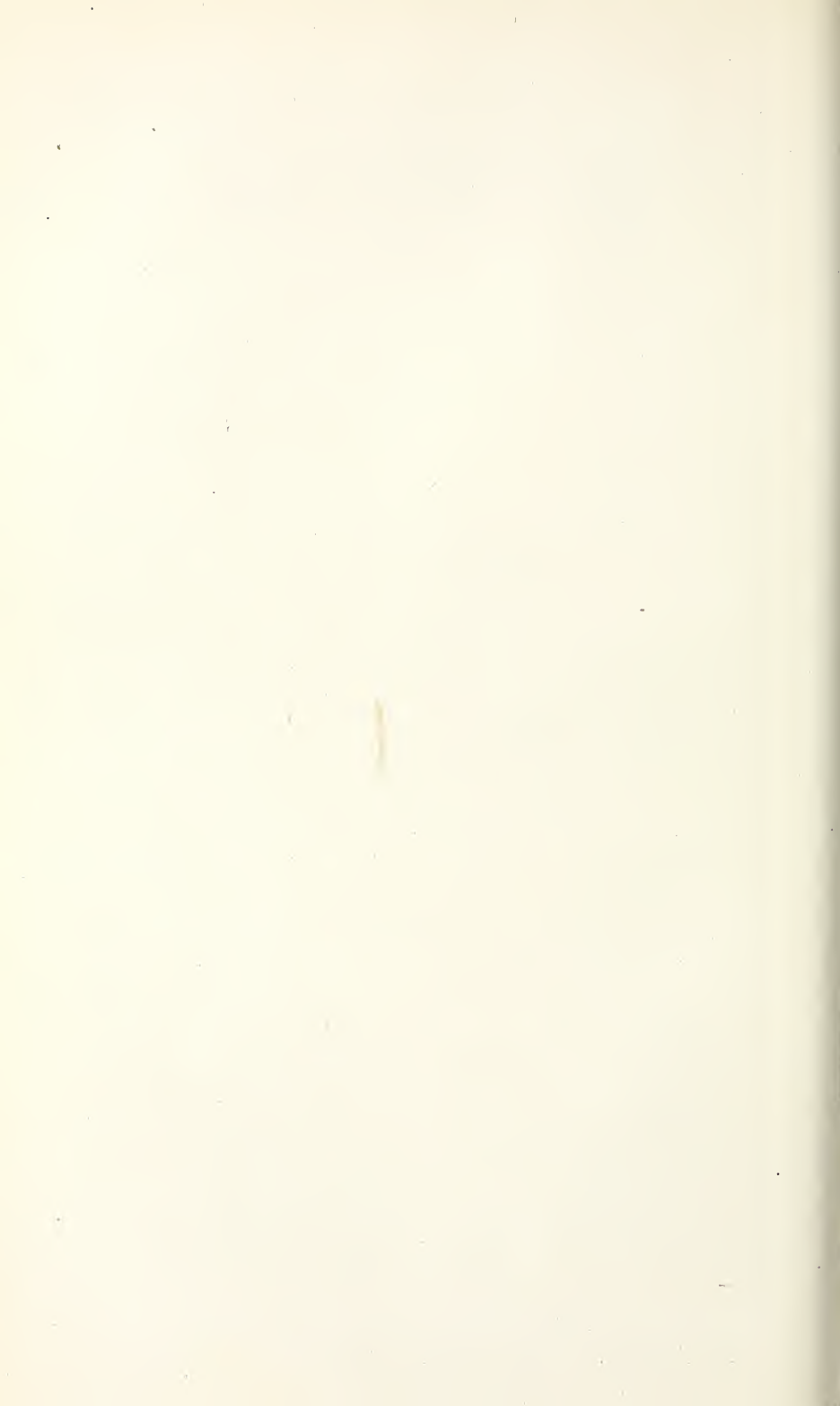
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Figures 5 to 9.—The Crucifixion as Carved on Irish Crosses.

5. Clonmacnois. 6. Monasterboice. 7. Durrow. 8. Castledermot.
9. Termonfechin.



There is generally a nimbus round the head of Christ. That in the St. Gall Crucifixion is dotted with red points, a feature of decoration equally dear to the Irish miniaturists.

In the last-mentioned picture, the arms are bare as far as the elbow and the legs from the knee downwards. By a grotesque fancy the legs have been coloured in blue and the arms in "lie de vin."

3° MANNER OF ATTACHING TO THE CROSS.—For the first ten centuries, and even later, our Lord's feet are not shown crossed as often in present day figures, but are nailed separately to the cross. In some cases they rest upon a little board (*suppedaneum*). In the Irish representations the feet are in like manner separated, but the *suppedaneum* is never found, except on the Dungannon plaque.

It is noteworthy that no nails are apparent: for instance, in the plaques of Athlone and Dungannon as well as in the St. Gall miniature. The Southampton Psalter shows the hands of Christ with three red dots, but they are not intended to represent either nails or wounds. They are merely the red dots which the Irish miniaturists love to use for decorative purposes. The angel on the right has similar marks on his palms.

The feet are represented in these two pictures with the heels close together and the toes turned outwards in such a fashion that both feet form one line. The ankle bone is marked by a small circle with a dot in the centre. It is not possible to say whether this feature is intended to represent the head of a nail or merely the ankle bone itself.

III. OTHER FIGURES.—The figures that are generally associated, in early mediæval iconography, with the scene of the Crucifixion are the Blessed Virgin and the Apostle John, the two thieves, two soldiers, one with a lance, the other with the sponge, and also, in some cases, angels and personifications of the sun and the moon.

The Würzburg Crucifixion (fig. 4), amongst all the examples cited in this article, is the richest in figures. There are to be seen first the two thieves, each clothed in a sort of sack and attached to tiny crosses hanging from the arms of the main cross.¹¹ Two winged beings with human faces, probably representing angels, fly towards the good Thief, while two blackbirds, vaguely resembling penguins, fly in the direction of the bad Thief. They are probably intended to represent devils, infernal beings, according to an Irish belief, assuming sometimes the shape of

¹¹ This disposition of the thieves' crosses, as well as their clothing, recalls, in a striking manner, the Crucifixion on the silver disc found in the Government of Perm, East Russia. See J. Reil, *op. cit.*, fig. 3, and *Matériaux pour servir à l'archéologie de la Russie*, xxii, 1899.

blackbirds.¹² At the bottom of the page, floats a ship in which are our Lord, or perhaps the Blessed Virgin, and nine Apostles, one of whom (Peter ?) is steering.

This is quite exceptional from the point of view of the number of figures represented. The only figures shown in all other painted Crucifixions, in those on metal plaques or in stone (except that at Maghera), are the soldiers on each side of Christ and the angels above the arms of the cross. The constant appearance of these four accessory figures in Irish art is not the least curious of their characteristic features.

1° THE LANCE-BEARER.—The Gospel of Nicodemus (4th-5th centuries) already gives the name of *Λογγίνος* to the soldier who pierced with the spear the Saviour's side.¹³ At the time when those earlier works, which we are now examining, were executed, the name of Longinus was known in Ireland. Above the head of the lance-bearer in the Durham miniature (8th century), the name "Longinus" somewhat effaced by time, can still be made out; and the Irish martyrologies of Oengus (9th century) and of O'Gorman (A.D. 1167) name and commemorate Longinus, the former on October 23, the latter on March 15.¹⁴ Further the *Leabhar Breac* and other Irish MSS. contain an Irish translation of the *Passio Longini*, which was probably made in the 11th century.¹⁵

As the Gospel narrative does not say which side of Christ was pierced by the lance, some have represented the soldier as wounding him in the right side, some in the left.¹⁶ Personal taste, the model which the artist had before him, or particular ideas of symbolism have been the cause of the variations on this point.¹⁷

These divergences, common to all Christianity, are likewise to be noticed in Irish representations. In some it is the right side that is pierced by the spear, in others it is the left. The same variation appears in the texts. According to the Irish translations

¹² Tirechan, *Collectanea*, 38 (*Analecta Bollandiana*, II, pp. 58-59), ed. Whitley Stokes; *Tripartite Life*, p. 322; L. Br. Homily on Patrick (Wh. Stokes, *op cit.*, p. 474-475); Jocelin of Furness, *Vita Patricii*, xvii, 150 (Boll., *Acta SS. March*, II, p. 571).

¹³ Tischendorf, *Evangelica Apocrypha*, xvi, 283. See Rose Jeffries Peebles, *The Legend of Longinus in Eccles. Traditions and in Engl. Literat.*, and its connection with the Grail, [Bryn Mawr Col. Monographs, ix], Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, 1911, p. 8.

¹⁴ *Féilire Oengusso*, ed. Whitley Stokes, London, 1905, p. 218; *Féilire Húi Gormáin*, ed. Wh. Stokes, London, 1895, pp. 54-55.

¹⁵ Edit. R. Atkinson, *The Passions and the Homil. from Leabhar Breac* [Todd Lecture Series, II], Dublin, 1887, pp. 60-64. 300-304. For date, see J. Vendryes, in *Revue Celtique*, xxxii, 1911, p. 351.

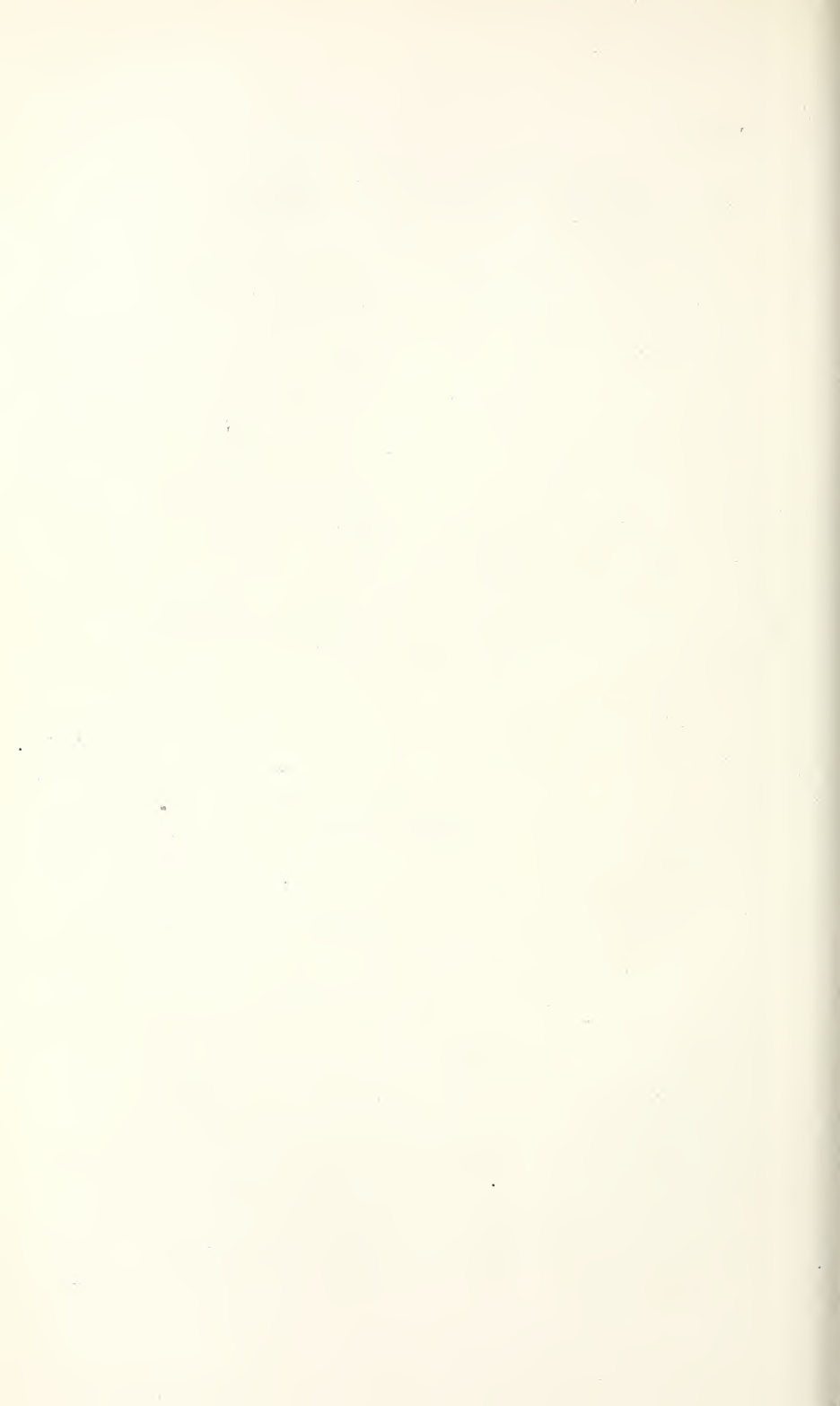
¹⁶ Regarding the wound in the side of Christ, see Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique*, I, p. 455.

¹⁷ Andreas Schmid, *Die Seitenwunde Christi* (*Zeitschrift f. christliche Kunst*, xxi, 1908, 217-218).



Figures 10 to 13.—The Crucifixion as Carved on Irish Crosses and Slabs

10. Monasterboice. 11. Kells. 12. Carndonagh. 13. Iniskea.



of the *Passio Longini*, it appears that Longinus "split the heart of Christ in twain, from which issued out blood and wine (*sic*)."¹⁸ An opposite opinion is to be found in the tract on the Mass composed in Irish prior to the 11th century and preserved in the well-known Stowe Missal. The passage refers to the symbolism of the particle which the priest breaks from the wafer during the Mass. "The particle," so the tract has it, "that is cut off from the bottom of the half which is on the [priest's] left hand is the figure of the wounding with the lance in the armpit of the right side."¹⁹

It is reported in the *Passion of Longinus*, above mentioned, that at the very moment when the heathen soldier wounded Christ, the light of faith illumined the eyes of his soul, so that he renounced immediately all the errors of paganism.²⁰ Such is probably the origin of the legend which relates that Longinus, blind up to that moment, was suddenly healed by the blood which, gushing from the Saviour's wound, fell upon his eyes. This legend seems to have had wide belief in the Middle Ages, particularly in Wales and Brittany.²¹ There is a detail in the Crucifixion of St. Gall which proves that the legend was equally familiar to the Irish. A gush of blood, crudely represented by a red line drawn zig-zag, can be seen coming forth from the side of Christ and striking the right eye of Longinus. The right eye is open, whereas the left would still appear to be without sight (fig. 1).

I know of two other miniatures which illustrate the legend of the miraculous healing of Longinus. One of these is in a MS. of the Gospels in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (9th century),²² the other is in a MS. of the 14th cent. in the British Museum.²³ In the picture contained in the latter MS., Longinus, who is seen with his spear in Christ's side, is himself making a gesture either of pointing to, or touching, his eye.²⁴

¹⁸ The Irish text has really *fín* (= wine), R. Atkinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 60 and 300.

¹⁹ Ed. McCarthy in *Transactions R. I. A.*, xxvii, 1886, p. 245-265; ed Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaur. Palaeohibernicus*, Cambridge, 1903, II, p. 254. The recension of this tract in the L. Br. has almost the same wording.

²⁰ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 60 and 300.

²¹ G. Hartwell Jones, *Celtic Britain and the Pilgrim Movement*, London, 1912, p. 179, *sq.* In an Irish poem composed c. 1649, Longinus is called "the blind" (*Archivium Hibernicum*, I, 1912, p. 120). "L'aveugle Longin" is mentioned in the French Chanson de geste "Les Narbonnais," composed c. 1210 (see Bédier, *Les légendes épiques*, I, p. 42).

²² MS. Lat. 257. Fig. in Ch. Louandre, *Les Arts somptuaires*, Paris 1858, plate I, p. 36.

²³ MS. Roy. 19 c.r., fol. 119 (Bréviaire d'Amour).

²⁴ In a miniature of a Belgian Psalter, Longinus has his hand at his left eye, which is opening, whereas the right remains closed (Jameson & Eastlake, *The Hist. of Our Lord*, London, 1864, II, p. 162). As a matter of fact, there is a variant of the Longinus legend, according to which

20 THE SPONGE-BEARER.—The name given to the man with the sponge is that of Stephaton, according to an inscription in the Crucifixion contained in a Gospel-book of the 9th century in the library of Angers (MS. No. 24 [20]). M. Clermont-Ganneau thinks that this name is the result of a confusion between the two words CIIÓFFON (sponge) and CTEΦATON in support of which theory he quotes several later inscriptions where this name is given to the sponge-bearer.²⁵ This personage is called *Zefaton* in an Irish homily of the Passion of our Lord.²⁶

I myself wonder if the sponge was known in Ireland at the time that these crucifixions were depicted.²⁷ The following lines occur in a composite narrative of the Passion contained in the *Leabhar Breac*: "One of the soldiers immediately afterwards ran, and put vinegar in a sponge on the top of a rod, and gave it to Jesus to drink."²⁸ Robert Atkinson translates 'machdual' by 'sponge,' and this is still the word for sponge in Irish. But, as it does not occur in other Celtic tongues, it must be of foreign origin. Perhaps it comes from the Latin *magdaliūm* (with the substitution of—*dual* for—*dal*; Gr. μαγδαλιά, ἀπομαγδαλιά meaning the crumb of bread which the Ancients used for cleansing their hands. If this is the real etymology of the word 'machdual,' it is clear that the early Irish only imperfectly understood the nature of the sponge.²⁹

An Irish translation of the Gospel of Nicodemus, which is found in the same MS., contains the following passage in which, instead of a sponge, a vase is mentioned: "Thus Jesus said, as he was on the cross:—'I thirst'; and the Jews filled a vessel (*lestar*) with vinegar of the bitterness of gall, and gave it to him on the top of a rod,"³⁰

Finally, yet more striking is the fact that in none of the Irish Crucifixions which come within the scope of this article, whether

he was cured by touching his eyes with the fingers on which the blood of Jesus had flowed. See Jameson and Eastlake, *op. cit.*, p. 161, and Boll., *Acta SS. March*, II, p. 373d.

²⁵ Clermont-Ganneau, *Notes d'Archéologie Orientale*: IV. *Stephaton, l'homme à l'éponge de la crucifixion et les deux larrons Gestas et Dymas (Revue Critique, 1883, pp. 145-147).*

²⁶ R. Atkinson, *Pass. and Hom.*, pp. 134 and 382.

²⁷ In the Gospel narratives, the sponge (σπάγγος) is mentioned with regard to the Crucifixion in Mat., xxvii, 48, Mark xv, 36, John xix, 29; whereas in Luke (xxxiii, 36) it is recorded simply that vinegar was offered to the divine Sufferer, without any mention of the way in which this was done.

²⁸ Ed. R. Atkinson, pp. 134 and 382.

²⁹ See Du Cange s. v. "Magdaliūm." "The Latin word 'spongia,' was borrowed by the Irish in the form 'sponc,' or 'spong,' as by the Britons under the form 'yspwyng' (Welsh). The word for sponge, whether it is a question of 'sponc' or of 'machdual,' must have been introduced at a fairly late date, during the ninth century at earliest. 'Sponc' is found in the Glossary of Cormac" (privately communicated by M. Vendryes).

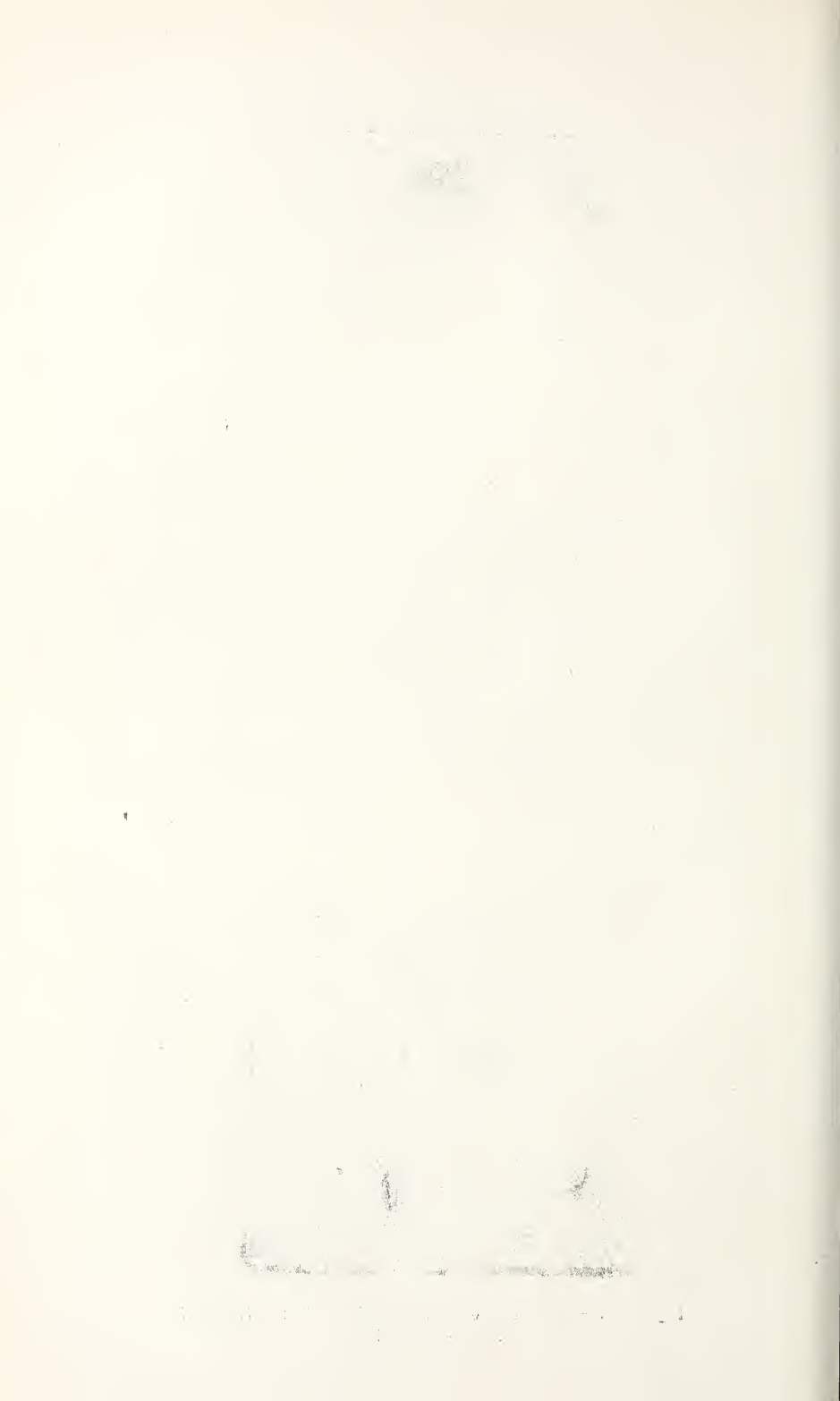
³⁰ Ed. Atkinson, pp. 121 and 363.



Figure 14.—Bronze Plaque found at Athlone, now in the National Museum, Dublin.



Figure 15.—Crucifixion on a Bronze Plate in the National Museum, Dublin.



represented on stone, or metal or vellum, does the instrument on which the soldier gives the bitter drink to Christ resemble in any way a sponge at the end of a reed. It is always a cup of varying depth fixed to a rod, and this coincides admirably with the text which has just been quoted.³¹ The form of the upper part of the instrument does not always appear as spherical in iconographic compositions outside Ireland. For example, the instrument depicted in the miniature of the famous Syriac MS. of Rabula (A.D. 586), preserved at Florence, resembles a duster,³² whereas in the Gospel-book of Otho III. at Munich, the rod ends in a trilobate object.³³ In these examples, despite the vagaries of the artists, one can recognise (with a certain amount of imagination) the form of a sponge, but the Irish representations do not give the slightest idea of one.

But it must not be inferred from this that the drawing which depicts a vase, instead of a sponge, fixed at the end of a rod, is only to be found in Irish examples. It can be seen on the Sassanian plate found in the Government of Perm (East Russia), which dates back to the 5th-6th century.³⁴ It is also represented thus on the bronze door of the cathedral of Hildesheim (Hanover), which dates from about A.D. 1015,³⁵ as well as in a miniature in a Belgian psalter,³⁶ and in one of the Anglo-Saxon psalters preserved at Boulogne (MS. No. 20; 10-11th century).³⁷ It would not be unreasonable to suppose that in the last three cases the peculiarity is due to imitations on Irish designs.³⁸

We know that the personage named Stephaton is not represented in the Würzburg miniature. However, it is interesting to note that the instrument for assuaging the Saviour's thirst has not been omitted from the picture. The vase which replaces the sponge is here shown just touching the beard of the crucified figure, while the rod, to which the vase is fixed is held in place by a band around the body of Christ Himself. (Fig. 4).

30 THE TWO ANGELS.—These are always placed in the upper angles of the cross. The Gospel-book of St. Gall shows only the upper part of their bodies. They are clothed in tunics with

³¹ The carver of the Iniskea slab has represented the cup somewhat clumsily by two concentric circles. Fig. 13.

³² Fig. in art. "Lance" in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

³³ G. Leidinger, *Miniaturen aus Handschriften der Kgl. Hof. und Staatsbibliothek in München*, 1st ser., München [1912], pl. 50.

³⁴ J. Reil, *op. cit.*, Fig. 3.

³⁵ Karl Woermann, *Geschichte der Kunst*, Leipzig and Wien, 1905, II, pl. 13.

³⁶ "In the possession of Mr. Holford." No other indication (Jameson and Eastlake, *op. cit.*, II, p. 162.)

³⁷ Westwood, *Facsim. of Miniat. and Ornaments*, pl. 39. This MS. was written at St. Bertin.

³⁸ On the Influence of the Irish on the Continent, see my *Chrétientés Celtiques*, Ch. V.

symmetrical folds. Each one holds a book, and they are looking towards the Christ. (Fig. 1).

In the Southampton Psalter, the composition of the angels can only be described as horrible. Neither their mouths, arms nor wings can be seen; but their hands appear with long pointed nails, the palms turned outwards. (Fig. 2). "I have no doubt," Mr. H. S. Crawford writes to me, "that these angels are unfinished. Many illuminated pages are incomplete, the Book of Kells furnishes examples."

On the metal plaques, where their whole body is shown, they are on bended knee. On the Dungannon plaque, they hold Christ's head with one hand, the other resting against their cheek in sign of sadness.³⁹

In the Durham Crucifixion, each angel has four wings, and their bodies are covered with many coloured feathers. The word INITIUM can be read above the head of the angel on the right of Christ and the words ET FINIS above the other one. (Fig. 3).

On the Termonfechin cross, only one angel, placed above the head of Christ, is apparent. (Fig. 9).

In the Würzburg MS. a bird is perched on either arm of the cross. Very probably they were intended to represent angels, for in some old Irish texts St. Michael is represented by a bird.⁴⁰

APPENDIX.

A LIST OF EARLY IRISH CARVINGS OF THE CRUCIFIXION.

ON CROSSES AT—			
St. Mullin's	-	-	Co. Carlow.
Dysert O'Dea	-	-	Co. Clare.
Kilfenora	-	-	"
Killaloe	-	-	"
Donaghmore	-	-	Co. Down.
Downpatrick	-	-	"
Addergoole	-	-	Co. Galway.
Templebreacan	-	-	"
Tuam	-	-	"
Castledermott	N. Cross	-	Co. Kildare.
"	S. Cross	-	"
Moone Abbey	-	-	"

³⁹ This attitude is often found in Christian iconography. See Martigny, *Dict. des Antiquités Chrétiennes*, p. 443. See also G. L. Hamilton, *Sur la locution "Sa Main à sa maisele"* (*Zeitschrift f. romanische Philologie*, xxxiv, 1910, pp. 571-572).

⁴⁰ *Immram Curaig Lua Corra*, edit. Wh. Stokes in *Rev. Celtique*, xiv, 1893, pp. 32-33; *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, ed. Wh. Stokes, Oxford, 1890, p. xiv. On the symbolism of the doves perched on the arms of the cross, in Christian Antiquity, see art. "Colombe," by J. P. Kirsch in Cabrol and Leclercq's *Dict. d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*.

ON CROSSES AT—

Graiguenamanagh N. Cross	-	Co. Kilkenny.
S. Cross	-	"
Ullard -	-	"
Clonmacnois W. Cross	-	King's Co.
S. Cross	-	"
Drumcullin -	-	"
Durrow Abbey -	-	"
Kinnitty -	-	"
Tihilly -	-	"
Monasterboice N. Cross	-	Co. Louth.
S. Cross	-	"
W. Cross	-	"
Termonfechin -	-	"
Caher Island -	-	Co. Mayo.
Kells Market Cross	-	Co. Meath.
S. Cross	-	"
E. Cross	-	"
Duleek N. Cross -	-	"
S. Cross	-	"
Clones -	-	Co. Monaghan.
Donagh -	-	"
Drumcliff -	-	Co. Sligo.
Cashel -	-	Co. Tipperary.
Mona Incha -	-	"
Roscrea -	-	"
Arboe -	-	Co. Tyrone.
Donaghmore -	-	"
Glendalough -	-	Co. Wicklow.

ON SLABS OR PILLARS AT—

Carndonagh -	-	Co. Donegal.
Duvillaun -	-	Co. Mayo.
Iniskea North -	-	"

ON ROUND TOWERS AT—

Teachadoe -	-	Co. Kildare.
Donaghmore -	-	Co. Meath.

ON A CHURCH DOORWAY AT—

Maghera -	-	Co. Londonderry.
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THE PROMONTORY FORTS AND TRADITIONS OF THE DISTRICTS OF BEARE AND BANTRY, CO. CORK.

By THOMAS JOHNSON WESTROPP, M.A., *Past-President*.[Read 9 DECEMBER 1919.]¹

IRELAND has been called "the home of survivals and old memories." There is some truth in the rhetoric. What *she* was to Europe the islands and peninsulas of her coast were to *her*. Sea borne colonies landed at them and passed inland to occupy richer fields, expelling older races, who fled in their turn back to nurse their bitterness on the barren headlands. The Irish "thought in invasions" other ancient nations usually claimed to be sprung from the soil but, like Israel, the Irish race preferred to think of itself as a wanderer and settler, and of its gods as invading and winning the country.² Gann and Genann of the Fir Bolg (the Ganganoi of Ptolemy) land near the Shannon mouth in an *inbir* in Co. Clare,³ the Clann Milid landed near the district of our studies in "Inbir Scene."⁴ The King of the World tried to conquer Ireland from his base at Ventry.⁵ These legends had their counterpart in actual history in the Danish and Norse settlements, from Limerick to Waterford. As for our district, we shall see that one of its earliest legends tells of the landing of a Munster King, with his Spanish wife and allies, at Beare Island.⁶ Close to us too is located the story of Muredach the Gray, of Dairbre, or Valencia, "for Munster's points and borders were the land of Clann Ebir after they had been banished." "Into the sea and into the islands of the sea the Clanna Degaid banished him so that in them Muredach Mucna became gray,"⁷ Was it after some such conquest in Beare that the same race inscribed the great monolith of Faunkill to "MacDegaid"? All up the coast even recent folk tale recalls

¹ Continued from vol. xliii, p. 324.² The "invasion" of the Tuatha Dé and their "defeat" by the Celts is only found in our literature about A.D. 975, but they would have been regarded as conquerors and divine allies at all times.³ *Eriu*, viii, p. 13.⁴ *Leabhar Gabhala* (ed. Macalister and MacNeill), I, xiii, p. 251. Professor MacNeill doubts the identification (*Phases of Irish History*, pp. 94, 95). The first defeat of their own gods (the Tuatha Dé) was in Glen Faís in Corcaiguiny, which seems much off the line of any march from Kenmare "River."⁵ *Cath. Finntragha* (ed. Kuno Meyer).⁶ *Battle of Magh Leana* and the corresponding tale *Tochmarch Mo Mera* (ed. O'Curry, Ir. Archaeol. Soc.).⁷ *Silva Gadelica* (tr. S. H. O'Grady), II, p. 349, *Revue Celtique*, xiii, p. 437.

such events as the "Battle of Cross" in the Mullet of Mayo, where are shown the "Hollow of Blood" and the "Munster Kings' tomb."⁸ Even the Icelandic Saga, nine centuries ago, after the battle of Clontarf foretold how the "new coming races, who on outlying headlands abode ere the fight" will rule Ireland.⁹ In this paper I close what is probably a nearly complete survey of the fortified headlands and the adjoining remains of the Irish coasts from Sligo¹⁰ to Wexford. Save some low portions devoid of fort names, I have seen and usually explored every probable reach. Only two headland forts had been adequately described before, Dubh Cathair by Dr. John O'Donovan and Dunbeg at Fahan by Professor Macalister. Valuable sporadic notes on the last fort, by Du Noyer and Windele, and on Dunnamo, by Otway and O'Donovan, alone were forthcoming and the plans, save Professor Macalister's, were all of great inaccuracy. Of spur forts, not actually on the Coast, Caherconree had been carefully described by John Windele and Mr. P. J. Lynch, the latter's plan and sections being of great value, like that of Dunbeg.¹¹

May I note of the "completed" Survey that some 195 such forts have been described and many planned and photographed for the first time. Though my notes and views actually begin in 1875, the systematic work¹² dates only from 1902 with the forts of Co. Waterford and Baginbun. Southern Co. Clare was completed in 1906; Kerry was explored, from 1907 to 1912, during six years. The Clare Island Survey, by the Royal Irish Academy, enabled me to examine the Islands, while the coasts of Tirawley

⁸ *Journal*, xlii, pp. 212-215; xliv, pp. 73, 74. There was a large layer of bones under the sand in the "Hollow of Blood," only disclosed by a great storm.

⁹ *Burnt Nial* (ed. Dasent, 1900), p. 328.

¹⁰ I only have noted one such headland in Sligo, Dooneragh or Cooladoon at Knocklane Castle. There are sea cut forts at Aughris and Dermore, the last evidently a ring fort, and shore names Coradoon and Lenadoon.

¹¹ Dubh Cathair—*Notes on Irish Architecture* (Dunraven), I, p. 19, pl. x. Dunbeg, *Trans. R. I. Acad.*, xxxi, pp. 209-344 (Macalister); Iar Mumhan (Windele, *MS. R. I. Acad.*, 543), pp. 472-7 in 1848, and Supp., vol. ii, pp. 20, 328; *Archaeolog. Journal* xv, (Du Noyer), p. 8; *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, iii, ser. iii (Sir T. N. Deane), p. 100. Dunnamo, *Erris and Tyrawly* (Rev. Caesar Otway, 1839), p. 69; *Journal*, xix, p. 182 (W. F. Wakeman). The first has a good sketch plan, the second is most inaccurate; J. Windele on Caherconree, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* (original series, 1860), viii, p. 116.

¹² Co. Waterford, *Journal*, xxxvi, p. 239; *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, xxxii, p. 188. Co. Wexford, *J.*, xxxvi, p. 257; xlviii, p. 1. Co. Clare, *J.*, xxxviii pp. 28, 35, 221; xli, pp. 135, 356. *N. Munster Archaeol. Soc.*, ii, pp. 134, 225. iii, pp. 38, 154, 162. Co. Kerry, *J.*, xl, pp. 6, 99, 179, 265; xlii, p. 235. Co. Mayo, *J.*, xlii, p. 51, 101, 185, xlv, pp. 67, 148, 297, 322; *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, xxix, p. 11; xxxi (2), p. 19. Co. Galway, *Pr.* xxviii, p. 179; *J.*, xxv, p. 266; xlv, p. 330; xlix, p. 330. Co. Cork, *Pr.* xxxii, pp. 89, 249, and present section. Some of the North Clare forts were described in another series of papers, *J.*, xxxv, pp. 359, 346, 360; xli, pp. 145-6, 356; xxxvii, p. 35.

and Erris were completed during three years 1909-1911. Co. Cork was begun in 1913 and could have been finished the next year but for the outbreak of the great war on the very day fixed by us to begin the work in Bantry and Beare. For four years leave could not be obtained to work round the important Naval base of Beare Haven, even had other causes not hindered. In altered times indeed these present notes were taken; my fellow worker in South Cork, Kerry and Mayo, Dr. George Fogerty, R.N., died, worn out by unsparing work for the wounded; another dear friend, Mr. Richard Ussher, whose minute knowledge helped me so much in Waterford, also had died before the evil days came on us. I had, however, the advantage of a third friend, who had worked with me in North Kerry and helped me during a quarter of a century in work on the Clare forts, Dr. George U. Mac-Namara;¹³ I must warmly acknowledge their unselfish and efficient help. Others too helped me, Col. and Mrs. Stacpoole, of Cloyne, along the coast east from Cork Harbour; Mr. R. Lloyd Praeger in the Mayo Islands; the Rev. John Bolton Greer (as also with the forts in N.E. Clare) at Nook, and Miss Matilda Redington at Dungoorra. When my notes on six Leinster forts¹⁴ and one in Sligo are published, antiquaries will have notes on all known sites in the three more Southern provinces. At the most, only a couple of weeks each summer could be devoted to the work, even in the most favourable years, so I hope for lenient judgment if (as well may be) omissions are found.

BEARE, ITS TRADITIONS.

BEARE and its Island and haven are richer in memories than in remains. We are everywhere met by tales of gods rather than of mere deified mortals. Save Beara, the wife of a mortal, we have goddesses, Bui, or Baei,¹⁵ Edaoín, Clidna,¹⁶ and the "*Badhbh*," "*Siomha*." Very crude and early is the tale of Bui; Cairbre Muse and Duben,¹⁷ his sister (or daughter) had twin sons. Nature

¹³ He died the following November, 1919.

¹⁴ Carrick Castle, Dunbur, Black Castle, The Bailly (*not* Dun Crimthann), Dromanagh and Garden fort. Mr. Hoare has described Carrick Castle, in his *History of Wexford*, and Dr. F. E. Ball (from my notes and plan), the Great Bailly of Howth, in *Howth and its Owners*, p. 12.

¹⁵ *Metrical Dind Shenchas* (ed. Gwynn, Todd Lect. Ser.), x. p. 5, pp. 206-9, also *Acallamh (Silva Gadelica)*, ii, p. 201).

¹⁶ For Clidna see *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, xxxiv, p. 55, and *Met. Dind. S.* pp. 206-9, for "Waves of Teite" and "Clidna." Clidna visits Dun Claire Dun lios an Dagda, in Aherloe, and other places in Cliu (as Mr. W. Gogan points out) in a 17th century poem, "*Lá dá rabhas*." The presence of the Dagda is interesting there, under the "Harps of Cliu," for, like Cliu, the Dagda is a harper god, who calls up the seasons by his music. See *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, xxxiv, pp. 151-4, and Squire's *Mythol. of the British Islands* (1910), p. 34.

¹⁷ *Leabar na h Uidre*, f. 54. Of course, ethically, there was no offence in such a union among many primitive nations, some, indeed, of high civilisation. The story is either misunderstood or recast.

sickened at their birth and called for their destruction but the lady Bui rescued Core, putting the infant on the back of a cow, or bull, till the more than original sin was absorbed into the animal, which swam out and became a sea rock (either "the bull" or "the cow") off Dorsey. The first islet was called *Bo Bui* even on Italian maps. Bui, Bea, or Baei, gave her name also to Dunboy, she is possibly Bui, or Baei, wife of the sun god Lug,¹⁸ whose descendants settled at Beare; she is said to have given her name to Cnogba, or Cnoc baea, the great tumulus of Knowth. A certain "Dorn Buide"¹⁹ ("yellow fist" is very possibly "Donn Bui"; he had a sacred mound, or *Sid*, to the N.W. of the goddess Clidna's *leacht*, near Teite's strand and Dun Teite, or Dundeady, on Galley Head. Donn was drowned at the Bull Rock, thence also called "Tech Duinn" (so Rockabill was another *Sid*); he was son of Mil, ancestor of the "Milesians." Professor Meyer,²⁰ in one of his latest papers, argues that Donn and not Mil was ancestor of the Celts and a god of the dead (as the Gauls claimed descent from Dis) and that his *childless* death was a Christian tale to obliterate his alleged claim to ancestry. I see several objections to this, Mil's father, Bile, was also Balor, an avowed death god, the favourite Gallo-British god Belinus.²¹ If Donn was made to die childless at the rock, a like fate befell his brother, Colptha, and (for that matter) his brother Ir, who had in later tales numerous reputed descendants, so some other cause must lie behind the story. Clidna plays a part in more than one coast legend, as we shall see.

In the Mag Leana legend it is hard to question the godhead of Edaoín and Siomhna, despite the latter's death, but Beara does not seem (to our present knowledge) to be a goddess. Her husband also is mortal, like his father and descendants, but he springs like most of the local families (whether his descendants, the O'Sullivans, or the O'Driscolls) from a group of gods—Lug "long hand," the chief god in Gaul, Britain and Ireland²² (whom the

¹⁸ The *L. na h Uidre*, f. 43, makes Baoi wife of a druid, Dinioch. In such myths (c.f. Lug, Nuada, Net and Manannán) the gods are frequently made into "druids." The rock Bui, *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, xxx, p. 417. As wife of Lug, see *Metr. Dind. S.*, x, p. 41; see *Journal*, *supra*, xl, pp. 184-5.

¹⁹ For the hill, Dorn Buidhe, see *Cork Hist. and Arch. Journal*, xviii, p. 52. So we have "folk renderings" of Dun baoi as "yellow fort" and Beanntraige as "white strand," not to speak of the egregious translation Kilcatierin, "Church of the Iron Cat."!

²⁰ I must thank Mr. R. Best for showing me the notice of this in *The Irish Statesman*, i, p. 33, after completion of present paper.

²¹ In Euhemerist British History Belinus is hero of a "light god" tale. Beil was god of a sacred fire at Uisnech. Rhys identifies him as a darkness god on comparison of certain Welsh and Irish pedigrees of Lug and Llew.

²² See *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, xxxiv, pp. 141, 149, 163. The change of "Samildánach" (master of sciences) to Dul daunach (blind surly) as the epithet of Lug is possibly a Christian polemic (see Squire's *Myth*).

Romans and even the Gauls identified with "Mercury"); Nuada "Silver Hand" (the British Nudens, or Ludens, worshipped at Lydney and Ludgate)²³ Dergthene, sometimes equated with Dairfine (the O'Driscolls' ancestor), a name for the war goddess Macha and the river goddess Segais, of the Boyne and Shannon.²⁴ Nor are these the only divine ancestors—"Nia Segamain of the Siabra" ("nephew" or "champion" of the Brito-Gaulish war god Segomo); Siorna, possibly the Gaulish Sirona; not to speak of Art Imlech ("Art is a god" in Cormac's *Glossary*, perhaps *Artaius*); the *Corbs* (Niad Corb, Cu Corb, Mog Corb),²⁵ the *Derg* triad, Deirgfota, Deirgthine,²⁶ and Deirg, and, perhaps, others, unsuspected in our present ignorance of Irish mythology and the "non-Gaulish" Celtic gods. In the Dedad tribes we find "Ethrial" a by-name for Nuada *Arged-lamh* among the ancestry of Ugaine Mór²⁷ while the lines of nearly all the Munster chiefs unite in Nuada. If (as some scholars assert) Eogan be the Gaulish *Esugen*, our hero bore the name of one of the frightful triad," Taranis, horrible Esus, and dire Teutates," whose altars in old Gaul once reeked with human gore, like those of "the Vampire goddess of Tauris." Eogan at least was "foster son" of Nuada and called from him "Mog Nuadat," as his father Oengus "Mog Neid" was foster son²⁸ of the war god Net, the Gaulish Neto, who was venerated with his wife Nemet

Brit. Isles, 1910, p. 237; Larminie's *West Folk Tales*, pp. 1 to 9). Since the close of the war, M. Loth's most helpful paper, "Le Dieu Lug," &c. (*Revue Archéol.*, xxiv, pp. 205-230) has reached our Libraries. He regards the "Lugoves" as feminine, like the *Matronae*, *Nervinae*, and other goddess groups in Gaul and Britain. Perhaps Lug's wives, Bui, Nas, &c., in our mythology, represent them. A feminine compound is found in Gaul, "Julia Luga-selva," *Rev. Celt.* x, p. 487.

²³ *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, xxxiv, pp. 145-163; *North Munster Arch. Soc.*, iv, p. 171. Brash read "Nuada" on the Ballyvooney Ogham, but it seems to be "Neta."

²⁴ *Rev. Celt.*, xxii, p. 58. She is also "Sinend, Dairine, *Neth*, *Nemain*, *Badb*, Aife, Macha, Mede mod and Samon." She was mother of Nuada Dearg (Battle of Magh Leana). Goddesses sometimes change sex in later myths, like Lug's mother, Ethniu or Etan, becomes his father Ethlen; also father of Ogma, another solar and culture god (Second Battle of Magh Tured, *Rev. Celt.*, xii).

²⁵ All dedicatory names, "nephew," or "champion," "hound," and "devotee," of "Corb," a probable, but vague, deity. Professor MacNeill regards the ogmic "Niotta" as nephew, "Netta" as champion.

²⁶ Deirgthine, *alias* Corb Oluim (the "Corb" names here need study), the epithet recurs with his more famous descendant, Oilíoll Aulom: a lost myth is evident here. See *Coir Anmann* (*Irische Texte*, iv, p. 255). The names of holy mounds, *Sith Deirg*, in Ireland and Nuada's epithet call for specialised study.

²⁷ *Batt. of M. Leana*, p. 170, from *B. of Lecan*, f. 64b.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3; *Coir Anm.*, p. 255, Net's grandson, Bress, gives his name to Carn Ui Neit, on Mizen Head. His father Elathan is sometimes son of Delbaath, son of Net; one recalls the forcing of Delbaath into the Eoghanacht pedigree as son of Oilíoll Aulom, grandson of Mog Neit.

(Nemetona) at Grianan Aileach and perhaps at the stream and spring Nith and Nemhnach at Tara. The Munster pedigrees from Nuada²⁹ are (as we see) most suggestive. They certainly date from pagan times, glorying in their descents from gods. Unfortunately corrupt and disarranged copies alone exist, to take an example—the tale of Mosaulom³⁰ (Oilioll Aulom son of Eogan), we find this pedigree—"Lug Feidleach, Nuada Aicnech, Luigthine, and Daig Dergthine." In the "official descent" we have "Lug Lamhfada, Nuada Argetlamh, Lachtaine,³¹ Deirg Deirgthine."³² In other lines Lug is son of Nuada, or father of, the latter, or son of his son Lachtaine, or even of the Dagda.³³ In the Mac Carthy descent Loic mór³⁴ and Eanna replace Lug and Nuada, before Deirgthine, but Nuada and his son (actually father) Aldod³⁵ (Allot) are put farther up the line. The Corca Loegde (O'Driscolls) make Lug father of Conaire Mór³⁶ and Dairfhine replaces Deirgthine (Corb Oluim)³⁷ but all the descents agree in making the Munster Princes descendants of a group of gods and show how Keating errs in stating that no family traces its descent from the Tuatha Dé Danann. The tribal pedigree of the two races³⁸ that held Beare in historic times rests on documents embodied in the Saltair of Cashel, A.D. 880-902), with addenda in 1070 and 1418, transcriptions from the lost "Book of Inisduine" by the O'Cowhigs and O'Driscolls in the 16th century and by the

²⁹ *Corca Laidhe*, pp. 9, 57; Keating's *History* (Ir. Texts Soc.), iv, pp. 17, 39, 47; *Battle of Magh Leana*, pp. 169-173.

³⁰ *Todd Lect. Ser.* (ed. Meyer), xvi, p. 29.

³¹ Perhaps the carpenter god Luigthine or Luchtae. "Second Battle of Mag Tured," *Rev. Celt.*, xii, p. 77.

³² Note the variant titles of Nuada "Deaglamh" and "Derglamh."

³³ Urard Mac Coisi's Poem circa A.D. 970 (*Ir. Myth. Cycle*, p. 98). The term "Dagda," usually applied to Eochu Ollathair, is transferred to his son Oengus in Munster. The latter's son, Bodb Dearg (see *Proc. R. I. A.*, xxxiv, p. 153), is, in variants of the Mog Nuadat legend, confused with Nuada Dearg, who elsewhere has a fort on Bodb's mountain, Slievenaman. There was Dun lios an Dagda in Aherloe, named in a late poem. Perhaps by Lug's father, "The Dagda," Nuada is intended, as Dagda means the "good god."

³⁴ We may note confusion of Loic with Lug in ancestry of the separate tribes of Luigne and Luagne. See Duanaire Finn (*Ir. Texts Soc.*, ed. MacNeill), p. xxxi. For Loic mór see *Tain bo Cualnge* (Dunn), p. 171.

³⁵ De Jubainville's *Irish Myth. Cycle* (tr. R. Best), p. 198; Allot is father of Nuada and Manannán, and so evidently identical with the latter's famous father, Lir. In Welsh tales (e.g., Killweh) Llŷr and Lludd are identified, so one even suspects that Allod is a Lludd (Nuada)-Lir. The daughter Credylled, given to both, is, of course, Shakespeare's Cordelia, with no exact Irish equivalent. Allot is a tribal ancestor (divine) in Ogham epitaphs.

³⁶ Conaire Mór and Fergus Mac Roig were a favourite resource of tribes wanting an ancestor in later times (*New Ir. Rev.*, 1906, p. 72).

³⁷ *Coir Anm.*, p. 299.

³⁸ *Book of Lecan*, f. 64, f. 213; *Book of Leinster*, f. 38a; "Corca Laide" (*Miscellany of Celtic Soc.*), pp. 57, 65, 17, 25; Keating's *History*, iv, pp. 15-23; *Coir Anm.*, p. 291, 293, 297, 299 317, 319, 321, 327, 361, 407; "The Battle of M. Leana" and "The Battle of M. Muchrimhe."

Dal Cais of Thomond over the same period. One element is remotely early it runs through Lug, Lachtaine, Nuada, to Deirgthine and Derg ("Deaga" in Corca Loegde pedigree) the Mythical Dergthene (or Corb Oluim), father of Mog Neit (Oengus) in the Saga of Magh Leana where the detailed legend of the Cashel princes begins.

The Corca Loegde gave Lug, Deag, Sithbolg, Daire and Lugaid Laide (the eponymus), MacNiad and Lugaid MacCon, who plays so large a part in the second tribal Saga of "Magh Muchrime Battle" with Mog Nuadat's son Oilíoll Aulom. Several, like Deag, Sithbolg and Daire get identified with the Cashel ancestors, to whom the Corca Loegde wished to affiliate their pedigree, as the Mac Carthies tried to connect themselves with Loic and the Tain bo Cualnge Saga even by sacrificing the divine ancestor Lug. The "Book of Inisduine" has older god names for some of these—"Lugh mannra" and "Deag mannra," Allot, "Nuada Fullon" (or "Neacht"), Lugh, Lugaid and Loichín interchange. The Cashel line³⁹ has the very illuminating descent from "Nia Segamon, the *siabra*" (god), son of Flidais Foltchain, while Nuada, under his many epithets, and Lug meet us in every line of descent. Another divine descent—Alldod, Nuada, Breogan, Bilé and Milé—connects the later *Milé* legend⁴⁰ with the gods. It probably was an "intrusive block" from Meath. In short the builders of this "Tower of Confusion" have preserved so many blocks from the older building that we can restore at least some of its main features—A god pedigree was always useful for their attempts to "fortify and overlay" their "portentous bridge" over the "vast abyss" that separated even the earliest pagan legends from the days of Noah and Adam!

Other insertions are from less distinguishable sources; Eocho Mumho,⁴¹ the eponymus of Mumhan or "Munster," and his father, Nia Febhis, or Mo Febhis (sometimes 40 generations apart are put in anywhere! Fer Corb and Mog Corb⁴² are moved from their semi-historic position, after A.D. 300 to B.C. 530-495 to

³⁹ *Coir Anmann*, p. 295. Flidais Foltchain (or a namesake) is brought down to the period of Cuchulaind (see Tain bo Flidais, *Celtic Review*, i, sqq., "Glenmasson MS." of 1238, ed. Mackinnon), elsewhere she is wife of Fergus son of Roig. Her husband "Adamair" is a mistake from *Ammathair* (mother), referring to Flidais. It is a curious sidelight on a contradictory tale, and its origin, as dull as the attempts to render Segomo as "deer" or "surpassing in wealth" (*Keating*, ii, p. 179).

⁴⁰ See *New Ir. Rev.*, 1906, pp. 3-6, "Where does Ir. hist. begin?" Professor MacNeill. The *Milé* tribes have no ancient legend before circa A.D. 150, and trace to three ancestors Conn of Tara, Cathaoir of Naas, and Oilíoll Aulom of Mag Femen in that period. They fight on foot; the archaic war chariot has nearly passed out of use.

⁴¹ *Book of Lecan*, f. 213. Neither Keating nor the *Book of Leinster* give him in the descent, but he is recognised in *Coir Anmann*, p. 289.

⁴² See *Coir Anmann*, p. 369; "Messin Corb," I think, does not appear in the "received" genealogies, so a triad Mog Corb, Cu Corb, and Nia Corb is left.

"pad out" the sham "High King list" of Giolla Coemhain, in 1070. There they are Kings of Leinster but connected with "Brugh" and "Claire," most probably their home forts of *Dún Claire* and *Brugh righ*. "Ethrial" or Nuada (B.C. 1511), Art Imlech (B.C. 1025), Setna Sithbacc and his son Duach (B.C. 935), Eochu "King of Clíu and Claire (B.C. 760), Lugaid Laide (B.C. 746 or A.D. 200) and Nia Segamain (B.C. 150 to 70) are independently connected with the tribal districts. They are used in new combinations, regardless of dates, and only the last (with a very obscure pedigree) seems to be a genuine tribal ancestor falling in with the movement of the Dergthene from Ardmore (and perhaps the Severn) to Magh Femen. Giolla Coemhain has taken one of the documents, itself a compound of (I think) three older pedigrees, and alternated it for many generations with Leinster pedigrees, in his "High King" poem.⁴³ In short (commending the subject to better qualified students) it seems clear that we have (1) a god pedigree (2) a Nia Segamon pedigree from Rechtaid with almost forgotten legends, perhaps earlier than the conquest of Clíu (alleged of the second century), and (3) the consistent, if mythical, pedigree from Dergthene (which was decorated by stray god-legends⁴⁴ down to A.D. 300) to Eanna Airigthech, about A.D. 420. There the rich mass of legends ends abruptly, at the very period which saw the beginning of Christianity in Munster, a most notable coincidence.⁴⁵ The tribal "history," from Lugaid Meann's conquest of the present Co. Clare, about A.D. 350, seems largely reliable. The bringing in of the Calraige, Caenraige, Muscraige, Uaithne, perhaps even of the Ui Fidgeinte, tribes into the Cashel pedigree is not pre-historic tradition but mediæval political exigency. Very clear is the fact that we have tradition of a tribal movement of the second century, Ptolemy notes the British "Brigantes," about A.D. 150, wedged into the Ousdioi and Iouernoi, Ossraige and Ernai in S.E. Ireland. We find in the Decies of Co. Waterford a tribal legend of a god-king, Nia Segamon, whence the Dergthene. Monuments of a tribe who claimed a god-ancestor in the formula "Maqi mucoi Netasegamonos" are found on the coast, at Ardmore and "Island" and at Seskinan, in the mountain pass, in the line of the *Rian bo* (the ancient road) from

⁴³ *Todd Lect. Series*, iii. For this patchwork to conciliate the leading ruling races of 1070 see Professor MacNeill in *New Ireland Rev.*, 1907, p. 342. *Ibid.*, 1906, p. 130, and the denunciation of the *Book of Leinster* on the insertion of non-Celtic lines into the Milesian pedigrees, see same (*Ivernian Soc.*, 1911, p. 151). I must also refer to Professor Macalister's paper, *Journal*, xxxviii, pp. 1-16.

⁴⁴ Like those of Cian and the Cianachta evidently from Lug's father Cian, and the Dealbna evidently from the fire god Delbaoth.

⁴⁵ The "noble branch of druids" on Cenn Febrat (*Met. Dind. S.*, x, p. 231) may have preserved these tales, as the Cashel monks did in later centuries

Ardmore to Mag Feimhin, Semi-historic legend finds the Derg-thene in Mag Femen; they claim as ancestors Nia Segamon, Mog Neid and Mog Nuadat. The first name gives the only trace in Ireland of the Gallo-British war god, Segomo; the last is called from another war god, who had a temple on the Severn. We find the Kings who held Southern Tipperary and S.E. Limerick still holding Illaunobric fort,⁴⁶ near the "Island" ogham pillar. Thence the tribal sagas mark their advance to Bruree, about A.D. 195 to 230; to Cashel 420; to Carnarary, in N.E. Limerick, about 330; to the Northern Border of Central Clare about 378,⁴⁷ all is consistent and the outline probable. The Corca Loegde ("an Ithian," i.e., non-Milesian race) were close allies⁴⁸ of the Derg-thene and may have come from Waterford but their traditions begin in Kinelea near Cork city about A.D. 190; they moved on even to Kenmare.⁴⁹ The third ruling race of the earliest Saga seems to have been compound, Ivernian, "Ernai," the great Clanna Deagad⁵⁰ (kin to the Muscraige and Corca Baiscinn) who buried their chiefs at Temair Erann, on the holy hill of Febra, at Bally-houra Pass. Their most definite monument, the great Faunkill obelisk,⁵¹ "Maqi Deceddass avi Toranias" suggests connection with Ui Torna of Abbeydorney in North Kerry. They at first claimed an archaic descent from "Oilioll Erann of the double dart,"⁵² but substituted a "political descent" from the god Lug through Conaire mór in their later pedigrees.

THE TALES OF BEARA AND LIBAN.

THE earliest (in subject) of the group of sagas of the Deirgthine—the Battle of Mag Leana⁵³ is sadly in need of the higher criticism. Its tribal arrangements, though later than those of the Tain bo Cualnge, mark only a slightly later stage to that in Ptolemy's record A.D. 150: It has primitive features (save war chariots), burial with all one's weapons and the lover goddess;

⁴⁶ The pursuers of Mog Nuadat seek him there, *Battle of Magh Leana*, p. 23.

⁴⁷ Not merely the Dalcais, but the Eoghanachta (Ninuis), who won Aran and part of the opposite shore in Co. Clare.

⁴⁸ And Lugaid Mac Conn was also aided by one of Mog Nuadat's sons (Battle of M. Muchrimhe, *Rev. Celt.*, xiii, p. 441)

⁴⁹ *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, xxxii, pp. 92-3.

⁵⁰ For them and their ancestor Deda or Dega, a lake and hill god, see *ibid.*, xxxiv, pp. 159-163.

⁵¹ The epitaph was cut after the pillar was set up (*Irish Epigraphy*, Macalister, iii, p. 47.)

⁵² *New Ireland Rev.*, xxvi, p. 133. Torania, perhaps wife of Esus (*Rhys, Hibbert Lect.*, iv, p. 71), not Eterun (Macalister, *Temair Breg.*, p. 298), nor Cromm (*Ir. Myth. Cycle*, p. 62). The usual reading "De bolg gai" is really "Diabul gai" (Professor E. Gwynn).

⁵³ *Cath. Mhuighe Leana* (O'Curry, *Celtic Soc.*), pp. 39-153 (from *Yellow Book of Lecan*, A.D. 1391) its variant Tochmarch Momera is given with it.

the catching of the salmon before Nudens, in the Lydney bronze, has a close equivalent in connection with Nuada's foster son. The picture of the rise and fall of the Deirgthene seems earlier than their leading and powerful position in earliest history. In it the Ernai and Corca Loegde are at least their equals and the latter claimed no blood kinship with the Cashel princes till late times. On the other hand, the death of the war goddess and the possible allusion to the Norse, though the last is probably an insertion, mark its present recension as, perhaps, of the 10th or 11th century, hardly of the 12th, with its uncompromising euhemerists. There were, the teller says, three tribes (*i.e.*, ruling races) in Munster, the Dergthene, Dairine, and the Ithian tribe of Breogan. They were independent of each other and were ruled by Mogh Neid, son of Dergthene, Conaire, son of Mog Lamha and Maicniadh, "son of Lughdaid." The first had a promising son, Eoghan mór, foster son of Nuada⁵⁴ whence his title "Mog Nuadat." Heralded by a dream, like that in Genesis, of the kine lean and fat, came seven years of plenty and seven years of famine, Mog Neid, forewarned by his wife and the druid Deargdamhsa,⁵⁵ stored food, the others only laid up for one year in advance. The starving tribes accepted the provident King's food and terms and banished their princes, who fled to Conn of the hundred fights, who gave them his daughters in marriage. Mog Neid resented this and attacked Conn, his army (led by Deagad mór, who was defeated and slain by Asal mór, two very mythical persons) was put to flight. Nor was Mog Neid himself more fortunate, he was slain by Goll mac Moirne, in Eile (Ely O'Carrol in King's County), Eogan covering the retreat by a "brilliant rearguard action." The druid got Conn to grant honorable burial to Mog Neid, who was buried (as became the avowed devotee of the War god Net) in a sod grave, in his armour and his helmet, with his spears beside his shoulder and his club, like an early Gaulish burial.⁵⁶ Eogan fled to Glenlara, in Luachair Deagaid,⁵⁷ his pur-

⁵⁴ The account of the fort making is very curious (*Battle of Magh Leana and Coir Anmann*, p. 301. The story is told of Nuada and his foster son of Almhu and at Ailinn. The Hymn to St. Brigid (*Thesaurus Palæohibernicus*, ii, pp. 343-4) gives Christianised versions both of the fort building, with the removal of the boulder by Lugaid, *i.e.*, Lug, and the making soldiers hack pillars instead of their intended victim. Lug also throws a pillar at a fort. *Rev. Celt.*, xii, p. 79; Second Battle of Moytura.

⁵⁵ This is evidently the older version before the clerical insertion of "Pharaoh's Dream."

⁵⁶ Cf., *Battle of M. L.*, p. 21; *Irische Texte* iii, p. 290 (where a cairn is opened and a warrior is found with his weapons and the "chain of Lug mac Ethlenn"), and Dechelette *Manuel d' Archéologie* iv, pp. 1024, 1027, &c.

⁵⁷ As the realm of Curoi (or Luachair) extended past Glenlara to Oenach Clochair, near Dun Claire (*Mesca Ulad*, p. 17), it may be in Southern Co. Limerick. The pursuers then lost him at Aherloe and turned south. (See *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, xxxii, p. 459). Dr. J. O'Fergus

suers seeking him in vain down the Suir Valley and across the present Co. Waterford to the promontory fort of Oileán O'Bric,⁵⁸ close to one of the inscribed pillars to another descendant of Nia Segamain, incidentally supporting the Dergthenian pedigree and migration. Somewhere near Kenmare they eventually overtook the hunted prince. All seemed lost but Eogan had won the love of a goddess Eadaoin⁵⁹ who, like the greater goddess before Ilion, rescued her favourites. She made them and the rocks and pillar stones exchange shapes. The foe hacked till they broke their weapons (the *Cloch Barraige* ⁶⁰ is shown to this day in witness), but meanwhile the fugitives reached Inis Greccraige, the present Beare Island, in safety. In later days, in the reign of Eogan's son Oilioll, the Gregraiage are found at Knockainey in S.E. Co. Limerick.⁶¹ Having slain a hostile war goddess, or river goddess, the *Badb Siomhna*, the prince was sent to Spain,⁶² found favour with a King, Eibhear, and won the love of his daughter Beara, (Mo Méra). Advised by a druid, she caught a wonderful salmon in the Eibhear, or Ebro, and made the brilliant cloak her lover wore. In the Lydney bronze of his patron Nuada a warrior catches a fish before the god ⁶³ and one may suspect that in the older versions Nuada personally saved his foster son and the latter caught the salmon himself, at least the story of such an episode is as old as Roman rule in Britain. Eogan, returned after nine years, named the Island *Beara* after his wife, and landed at Dun Torcan or in Cealga Harbour, on the south shore, probably Lonehort.⁶⁴ Eadaoin entertained him in her *grianán*, which is still com-

interpolated a note in one copy leading to its location at Leim Lara, near Killarney, which latter apparently the fugitives passed just before being overtaken. The enemy had time to ravage the country with fire and sword to Drung Hill before Eogan reached Mangerton, so Glenlara evidently lay far eastward.

⁵⁸ Now "Dane's Island," *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, xxxii, p. 219, pl. xx, and *Journal*, xxxv, p. 252. It is notable for an early copper mine, in which stone implements were found.

⁵⁹ See *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, xxxiv, pp. 55, 165-8; She, Clidna, and Aine were "the three treasures of the Tuatha Dé."

⁶⁰ It is near the Owengarriff, or Roughty River, also anciently called Siomhna. As Macha, or Sinann, was at once a war goddess and a river one, so evidently was Siomhna. Ath Fuinnseon at Dromdaleague, Co. Cork, was named from her *ashen* yoke. For a view of the Cloch, see John Windele's *Topog. of Cork, Kerry, &c.* (*MS. R. I. Acad.*, c. 12, 3), p. 57, "a druidical cube of limestone," 15 to 20 feet each way. The recurrence all over Ireland of rock names like Boughil and Fearbreaga show the popularity of such tales.

⁶¹ For them, see "List of Aithech Tuatha" (*Rev. Celt.*, xx, p. 336) and "Aine's History" (*Silva Gad.*, ii, p. 50, n 3).

⁶² Hardly in this place "the Celtic Hades," but (unless the Ebro was named in the early "editions") a casual "foreign country," like "Greece," "Hirualt," "Asia," &c. Names, like Hiberus, Iberus, and Iberius, occur in Gaulish inscriptions (*Rev. Celt.*, xiii, pp. 310-311).

⁶³ "Roman remains at Lydney Park" (*Rev. W. Bathurst*, 1879), pl. xiii.

⁶⁴ *Batt. of M. L.*, pp. 51, 2, 165, the last from the "Tochmarch Moméra."



THE FAUNKILL OGHAM STONE, BEARE
(Photographed by Professor R. A. S. Macalister, Litt.D.)

memorated in the chief townland name of Beare, where a trace of a ring fort remains. Eogan was an experienced fort builder, I must note that Nuada Dearg brought his foster son, as a child, to see the building of a Rath at Magh Feimhin (elsewhere, Ailinn or Almhu). The work was done in sections, by gangs of 9 slaves. As so usual in our earthworks, a large rock was found in the drift clay, too heavy to remove. Eogan by main strength, after the gangs had failed, lifted it and placed it on the outer mound. Again in manhood, on the birth and "druidic baptism" of his famous son Ailill (Oilioll Aulom) he dug a court (dunad) in Ui Liathan (in Barrymore, Co. Cork) inventing "treadles" for the wooden spades used in the work and cutting down the trees on the site, whence his by name "Fidfeccagh." In fact one variant made him digger of the great *escar* or gravel mound across Ireland.⁶⁵ Soon after he forced his brother kings to recognise him as suzerain⁶⁶ and aid him against Conn, whom he forced to divide Ireland with him, whence the names Leth Chuinn and Leth Mogha, or Leth Nuadat,⁶⁷ which long outlasted the treaty. Probably his "Spanish" allies were slain or returned home and Eogan fell, after a gallant battle, at Magh Lena near Tullamore and was buried along with his brother-in-law and a subordinate chief in three tumuli at a sanctuary, or assembly, called Oenach Colmain Elo.⁶⁸ Beare Island does not figure again in the Saga of the Dergthene nor I think in their history.

Another tale⁶⁹ as mythical and with far less suggestion of underlying fact (and possibly confusing Cian father of Lug with a son of Oilioll Aulom,⁷⁰ as another tale does Delbaath an evident fire god whose sons spring from five flames) relates to the Beare region.

Tadg, son of Cian, "went on a circuit" and Cathmann, King of "Fresen," "lying over against Spain," came in nine ships to Baoi Beire, or Bearehaven, and carried off Tadg's wife Liban

⁶⁵ *MS. R. I. Acad.*, 126, p. 245. In a glossary, *MS.*, T.C.D., H. 2.6, an incorrigible pedant explains "Escir" from the Greek "Ciris" (Cheir), i.e., manus, "because it is not the work of hands."

⁶⁶ The "alternate succession" of the Dairfhine and Dergthine seems as mythical as that of the Eoghanacht and Dal Cais. See *Rev. Celt.*, xxx, p. 392, for the division of Ireland.

⁶⁷ *Battle of Magh Leana*, p. 125; *Leath Nuadat*, p. 143; and *Leabar Brecc*, 216b; also *Leth Moga Neth*, a notable suggestion of a variant in which Mog Neid is the hero.

⁶⁸ Mr. Orpen's identification seems certain, *Journal*, xxxv, p. 34; see also Petrie's *Round Towers*, pp. 97, 99. Rev. E. Hogan (*Onomasticon Goedelicum*, p. 523) notes mounds at Moylen, near Durrow; a grave of slabs with a skeleton and one with a single skull were opened, but, alas, no competent person was present.

⁶⁹ *Silva Gad.*, ii, p. 385.

⁷⁰ The strange tale of the "fire sons" and the horrible myth of the two worms need explanation. (See *Hibbert Lect.*, iv, pp. 392-3; *Coir Anm.*, p. 359). For political affiliations see *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, xxxiii, p. 454 n and Preface to *Duanaire Finn*, p. xxxix.

and his brothers, Airlalach and Eogan. Tadg escaped and organised a rescue party. After many weird adventures, "on the foam of perilous seas, in fairy lands forlorn," visiting uncharted islands (one covered with giants' bones and huge sheep) they passed through shoals of fish and seals⁷¹ to Cesair's Island. There, in a golden *dún*, he found Clidna, child of Genann, of the Tuatha Dé Danann⁷² from whom the wave of Glandore is called "Tonn Clidna." With her aid he found his brothers gathering firewood and rowing a ferry, surprised Cathmann in his *dún* and, after the usual slaughter, recovered Liban. She had retained her love for Tadg, under most untoward fortunes, so the party returned joyously to Baoi Beirre and lived happy ever after.

NAMES AND HISTORY OF BEARE.

The name is Bérré, Beirre, "Beire of Dun Bui in Corca Laigde," and is probably pre-Celtic.⁷³ A prehistoric battle, "Cath Berri Brucc," was won by Conmaol King of Munster, over Sil Eremoin and the Aes m Berri (Ui hEidersecoil), the victor was slain "in B.C. 1491"⁷⁴ by a son of Tighearnmais and is connected with a mound south of Óenach Macha.⁷⁵ Some regard Berramain, Luachair-Fellabair, and the Ouellabori of Ptolemy's map as forms of the same name, as Beare, but the first lay far northward above Tralee.⁷⁶ Caeilte sings of "fish of the briny sea from the coasts of Buie and Beara,"⁷⁷ as we saw, "Bui was applied to the Bull Rock in the portolan maps after 1450."⁷⁸ The Synod of Rathbreasail (1112) gives the South limit of the diocese of Ratass (Rath Deisceart) as a line "from Baoi Bearra to Ceann m Beara" (Bearehaven to Kenmare) and the Papal Taxation of 1302 calls the deanery "Boerry" and gives its parishes, Kilcomegragh (Killacconagh⁷⁹ the Cauocanena of the portolans) and Kilcateryn. Beare appears in the Annals of 778, 794 and 865. In the first year Bresten, Chief of the Corca Loedg, defeated Fergal King of Desmond and died 794, his son Maelbrachta, chief of Corca Loegde, died 798, when there was great loss of men and cattle and much snow. In the next 700 years we find only the name on the

⁷¹ At the east mouth of Bearehaven are the seal rocks, Roancarrick, one with a lighthouse. I only saw one seal on this part of the coast.

⁷² Recte, "of the Firbolg" (*First Battle of Mag Tured, Eriu*, viii, p. 15). Note the phrase "champions of Clidna" in "Battle of Magh Leana." See, also, *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, xxxiv, pp. 55, 168.

⁷³ *Onomasticon Goedelicum*, pp. 98, 113.

⁷⁴ *Keating's Hist. (Ir. Texts Soc.)*, ii, pp. 120, 121.

⁷⁵ *Todd Lect.*, Ser. iii, p. 159.

⁷⁶ "Find and the Phantoms" (*Rev. Celt.*, vii, p. 295).

⁷⁷ *Silva Gadelica*, ii, p. 119.

⁷⁸ *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, xxx, p. 413.

⁷⁹ A horribly "neglected spot," the side walls a few feet high, the ends levelled, skulls taken out of the vaults and tombs and placed in rows—a disgrace to the district.

portolans, from 1336, "Bire," "Biri" and corrupt forms "Leri," "Caur," and Brerel. O Huidrin, with his usual conservatism, places there "O hEidersceoil of Bearra the good, over Bearra of the salmon-full border. The Harbour of Baoi . . . is under his extensive fleet of wine." The O'Driscolls had probably been supplanted by the O'Sullivans. The *wine* accounts for its importance to foreign traders and their maps. The Ui Eacach or "Ivagha" extended to Kenmare River in early times.⁸⁰ They, perhaps, pushed the Clanna Degaid north of that estuary, as the "Maqi Deceddass" ogham pillar suggests, but they themselves came from the inland Kinelea (Cineal Aodha). The O'Sullivans⁸¹ were descendants of Mog Nuadat and Beara, they, with the O'Connells and O'Donovans,⁸² were dislodged from Co. Limerick and from the district near Knockgraffan; they retired into the Killarney Mountains and the Carbery district, and then, aided by their MacCarthy⁸³ kinsmen, reduced the tribes in southern Kerry, Beare and Bantry, in the decades before 1200, it is said. The tribe eventually divided under two chiefs, O'Sullivan Mór and O'Sullivan Beare: the latter was bound to entertain MacCarthy Mór at Dunboy, and to aid him in the chief employment of the Munster gentry (when not at war)—hunting. I need not lengthen this study by their early history, but may give the "folk etymology" of their name Ua Suilleabain from *suil* eye. Eochu their ancestor, was asked by a druid for his eyes (as in the Loch Dearg legend) and tore them out to give them to him, but St. Ruadan of Lorrha prayed, and the druid's eyes flew out and rooted in the chief's head.⁸⁴ Nor need I give their descent, for till the late 15th century they do not seem to have built any of the existing remains. Diarmuid (son of Tadg, son of Amhlaib), living 1474,⁸⁵ built Castle Dermot in Castletown, and perhaps its sister Castle. His successor, Domnall, died 1485; the earl of Desmond slew Philip (son of Diarmaid), the chief and his son Tadhg. Diarmaid, son of Domnall (note the alternate succession) "paid bardic bards and pilgrims, the learned and *ollamhs* of Ireland" and died 1533. I must later on refer to the taking of the Castles of Dorsey and Dunboy, apart from which the most interesting episode, the

⁸⁰ *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, xxxiv, pp. 159, 163.

⁸¹ I have an isolated note on Maur. O'Sowlevan of Slevyndylle, Co. Cork, Plea Rolls, No. 27, An. xiii. Edw. II, m. 19.

⁸² In 1176 (Annals Inisfallen), by King Domnall O'Brien, the others about 1190, by the Normans. Also *supra*, xl, pp. 287-8.

⁸³ See "Lordship of MacCarthy Mór," by Professor W. F. Butler, *Journal*, xxxvi, pp. 358, 361-7.

⁸⁴ I may refer to the following articles in the *Cork Hist. and Archaeol. Journal*, i (1892), *Mortough Oge*, pp. 95-123. *Pedigree* in Herald's Office, p. 279, gives "Anne ny Lacken O'S first Lord of Bear," and some 9 generations to 1619. Ser. ii, vol. iv, "coming of O'Sullivans," pp. 119, 120. The "eye legend," p. 122 (also i, p. 96).

⁸⁵ He is mentioned by Finghin O'Driscoll in the list of contemporary chiefs in the Irish version of Sir John de Maundeville's Travels.

history of Puxley and Morty O Sullivan, lies outside my object.⁸⁶ Nor can I touch upon the history of the noble harbour, with its memories of Baei, Beara and Eadaoin, and of the fleets of Eogan Taidleach, Cathmann, Carew, Hoche and Von Tirpitz.

TOPOGRAPHICAL SOURCES.

I must as briefly as possible give some notes on the records of its topography. The Fiants⁸⁷ give us entries relating to Bear Beary, Biarre, Biary, and Byarry. Owen O Swillyvan of Byary knight (*alias* O'S. Byarry) is named in 1573; Dermot Endange O Solovan of Biary and Donogh Y' Ghoghegane (I presume a relation of Richard the defender of Dunboy) in 1577. We see a shadow of the victory of the Earl of Desmond in 1498 in a headrent of £20, payable to "the Rebel Earl," by Sir Owin of Dunboy, little else. The most helpful Inquisition⁸⁸ dates August 26th, 1618. Owen O Swlivan of Downeboy⁸⁹ *alias* Beerhaven, Esq^{re}, held (with many other lands) Ross McOwen with Greynane, Conoghlin and Duncrey, on the island; settled by Sir Ovinus on his wife Ellen "Cartey." A mortgage, September 2nd, 1591, by Sir Ovinus and his son, the above Ovinus, on Whyddey, *als* Whedeis Island, and lands *vills* and ports as Ballincollo, in Durseys, Kylkatherine and Eyries, Ballydangan, Ballaghbruge, *als* Ballaghcallagh, Ballycaslane (Castletown Beare), which, with Dyrrycovane, was granted by Queen Elizabeth, Glangarewff⁹⁰ and Terrkilme hillock, or Cahergarrieff. Of the rents, many are paid in kind, "*methers* of flour, lumps of butter, oats, sheep" 20 pil butiri in Auc (tumno), 20 in Somer," &c. Owen enfeoffed the castle and lands of Downeboy *alias* Beerhaven to Tadeus MacCormac "Cartey" for use of Ellena. A grant of Ap. 13th, 1608, gives Caherdonyly to Edward Avenall for 30 years. Ovinus died Aug. 31st., 1616. His son and heir was Dermitius, aged 21, and married to a daughter of the late Earl of Desmond. Ovinus of Aghie claimed succession to 5 *gnyves* of land and owed for long timber for building the castle, and also nests of hawks.

⁸⁶ For the true history see a valuable paper (*supra*, xxiv, pp. 35, 39) by A. J. Fetherstonhaugh, a most promising historian, who, unfortunately, died while his essay was in press. There is a popular account of Mortough O'Sullivan in *Dublin Penny Journal*, 1833-4, pp. 290-2. See also T. D. O'Sullivan's "Bantry, Berehaven, and the O'Sullivans," and Capt. T. Keogh's "Short Account of the History and Antiquities of Bere Island and Berehaven."

⁸⁷ Elizabeth, Nos. 3,339, 3,554, 4,677, 4,792, 5,612, 5,801, 5,889, 6,511, 6,515, 6,539, 6,576, and especially 3,253 and 5,104.

⁸⁸ Chancery, Jas. I, No. 43, and Exch., No. 46, of xv, Jas. I.

⁸⁹ Some have copied this "Townetroy" and endeavoured ingeniously to explain it.

⁹⁰ Inq., 434, Ap. 13, 1637, Inq. 526, Daniel Boy Mac Mortagh (Moriher-tagh) O Swylyvane of Leytrym, held 16 gneevs in Glanegarruff. A gneeve is a twentieth part of a townland. Some 24 places bear the name in Cork and Kerry.

In 1602 we get more picturesque accounts by Carew⁹¹ and his staff of Beare and its district. "Bearehaven is an excellent *harborough*, a narrow entry, slack tides, good anchorage, places fit to ground ships, in deep and evermore smooth waters, five fadomes deep at low water . . . of capacities sufficient to contain all the ships of Europe. . . . The coast yeelds such abundance of sea fish as few places in Christendom do the like." The fishery dues, though light, brought £500 per annum to O Sullivan. It was a resort of fishermen of all nations. In 1655⁹² there were two O Sullivans Beare—Daniel of Bollaghbuye, Cloghfoan and Beare Haven and Philip, of Loghanebegg, in Beare, and Killomenoge, in Muntravery, across Bantry Bay. Hungry Hill was owned by Daniel O'Sullivan.

In 1673 a nameless writer says that South Kerry and Beare "had been laid waste for many years, so that it was death for any man, woman or child to be seen in it"—all our records show that this is a gross, open, and palpable falsehood. It is given by Sir John Gilbert (*more suo* without telling where it exists), and he mistakenly applies it to all Kerry, as Miss Hickson shows.⁹³ Another witness, with a different bias, mentions "the high and horned hills of Desmond, which St. Patrick did not think worth blessing." Wild scenery had then few admirers. Carew describes the lovely Mangerton as "a most hideous and uncouth mountaine," and Sir Richard Cox (1695-1710) says of Beare, "two of the O'Sullivans who are of the best Irish blood, glory in taking their distinguishing titles from this scabby country."⁹⁴ Cox, however, speaks in praise of "one of the best harbours in the world."

In June, 1701, we have an account by Dive Downs, Bishop of Cork,⁹⁵ one of the few prelates at that time who realised that a bishop was an "overseer." He visited all the wild nooks of his diocese during two years, and that in no narrow spirit. He notes "100 of the arbutus or *cane* apple trees, called in Irish 'apples-cahannagh'"⁹⁶ on Daad O Huologhan, or Hungry Hill,⁹⁷ and describes the bushes at some length; "O Sullivan Beere lives in a cabin at the foot"; Dunboy or Beerehaven Castle (Castle Dermot) was "made into a fort in Cromwell's time." He saw the

⁹¹ *Cal. Carew Manuscripts* (1601-3), p. 255; *Pacata Hibernia*, iii, ch. x.

⁹² *Book of Distribution and Survey, Cork*, pp. 112, 113, 193.

⁹³ *Supra*, xv, pp. 573-4n. Gilbert's *Contemp. Hist. of Affairs in Ireland*.

⁹⁴ *Journal*, xxxii, pp. 353, 360, for Beare; *Pacata Hib.*, iii, ch. v, for Mangerton.

⁹⁵ *Cork Hist. and Arch. Journal*, xv, pp. 163-5.

⁹⁶ An interesting description in *Desmond Roll*, 1584, is given by Mr. M. J. McNery, *supra*, xxxvi, p. 133. The Tuatha Dé are said to have fed on the berries of the arbutus and the quicken.

⁹⁷ Knockday (Cnoc Deade) in Irish, "Knockhoie," in Speed's Map; "Hungry Hill," 1655, in Down Survey Map; "Deed," Locha Deade, &c., in Windele, *M.S. R. I. Acad.*, 12 C. 3, 12 J. 10, p. 883, 1849.

chapel of Ballinkilly on Beerhaven Island,⁹⁸ as he sailed past in a hooker, and visited the ruined churches of Kilcatierin and Killaconeena, near Dunboy, which last should be repaired, for "there is no church nearer than Bantry."

Mr. Wallis had the Croomhalla iron works near Kil(na)-mannah; *Oghigianig* was patron saint of Killaghaneenah. We saw several eagles upon the lands of Beerehaven, and there are many wolves⁹⁹ there. Twenty *saine* nets were worked in Bantry Bay, each paying 40s.; two boats and 15 men worked each net, and Col. Beecher opposed the tithes of fish.

The last titular O Sullivan Beare ("D.," I presume Daniel) must be mentioned. He was held in such high esteem that he was the first Roman Catholic freeman of Cork since Queen Anne's reign and Captain of the Loyal Infantry. In 1796 he mustered 200 peasants, and removed all provisions out of reach of the French fleet, capturing a Lieutenant and boat's crew; his own boat, worth £300, was sunk. He was presented with a handsome sword by the citizens of Cork, and died unmarried in March, 1814.¹⁰⁰

John Windele,¹⁰¹ in an attempt to reach Skellig in 1840, to examine its alleged ogmic inscriptions, came to Castletown, in execrable weather and with an uncongenial companion, A. Abell, who drank too much and used to get sick both on the "hooker" and on horse-back. As a result, the notes are of small value, and the stormy weather sent them "weather-beaten back" from Dorsey to Castletown. Dunboy Castle was a small earthwork, with a choked ditch, and two parallel walls, 15 or 16 feet high. Kilcatierin was named from the figure of a cat in iron! A druidical circle lay a mile north of Castletown. The castle at the latter was reduced to its foundations to build salt works, but his later sketch shows that part was still standing. "The Deade Lakes," Locha Deadha, were on Hungry Hill, Loch a modoolig there, in Coom a doolig, "has a *piast*, or enchanted eel, he issues from its waters when it freezes and is heard roaring fearfully, but he does no harm." Murphy (O Sullivan) of Inch was the last descendant of Murthy

⁹⁸ Windele gives a sketch plan, "taken about 1840"; an oblong building, with a south wing, or perhaps sacristy, in line with the east gable (*Topog., Cork W. and N. E.*, 12 J. 10. p. 863).

⁹⁹ Brian Townsend, Sovereign of Clonakilty, is said to have slain the last wolf in Co. Cork at Kilcrea (*Cork H. and A. Journal*, xiv. p. 193), but they survived till 1760 in S. W. Co. Limerick, and (it is said) even later at Feakle, Co. Clare. Windele gives a wolf story of the Androcles type, about a grateful were wolf, in Slieve Luachra (12 J. 10. p. 333).

¹⁰⁰ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1815.

¹⁰¹ *MSS. R. I. Acad.*, "Cork, Kerry, &c." (12 C. iii. pp. 11-17); *Topog. Co. Cork, W. & N. E.* (12 J. 10. pp. 864-903). His view of Castle Dermot in last, p. 907; of Kilcatierin, pp. 892-3; of Faunkill Ogham, pp. 895, 903, the last was drawn for him 26 July, 1856. It was first pointed out to Windele by Rev. T. Olden. Another informant, Andrew O'Keeffe, told him of a number of Oghams, all apparently mythical. The Rev. James Fampston made the early copy; neither is very accurate.

oge, shot by Capt. Mark in 1815. In a later visit with his son, Thomas P. Windele, in 1849, he was able to see and note more—the island and its dolmen; Kilcaterin and the “Iron cat”; the ogmic inscription at Cuileagh (Faunkill) and lists of pillars and circles. Of Deade, Knockdeade or Hungry Hill, he says the Irish name means “angry” or “jealous.” High up it is a passage at a tree where an O Donovan hanged an O Sullivan for cattle-stealing, and a *colabriac* which opens and throws out sand. A labourer called to the supernatural lady in it to send food to him and his fellows: it was supplied, but though they feasted, he refused to eat, with fatal consequences. Only the foundations and a bartizan of the castle remained in Castletown.

ANTIQUITIES IN BEARE.

This section must be regarded as merely tentative; the peninsula calls for long and systematic research for remains and folk lore. On my short visit I was impressed by the contrast between the silence of the peasantry on such subjects, and the liberal information given in Kerry, Clare, and Connacht, without prompting, almost without asking. The “traditions” which I found are most valueless, and, I suspect, very modern. “Hungry Hill” (so called before 1655) was “named by the Sappers, working on it in 1840, because supplies failed to reach them one day.” The old Telegraph Tower (or, by a variant, the old Lighthouse) on the Island is the “Princess Beara’s Tower,” Greenaun was her palace, Beara’s grave pillar is at the keel of Keelmackeowen,¹⁰² and we have a very bowdlerised version of the Baoi and Corc legend.¹⁰³ All evidently spring from casual talks with tourists and schoolmasters. Search for real traditions should, of course, be conducted most cautiously, without leading questions and with “checking versions” from people, not present when the tale was first told. Unlike most other places, the patron saints, and even the church names, are apparently not to be found. The most marked feature in the archaeology is the great number of pillar stones, or *galláns*, recalling Eadaoin’s magic deceptions. Beside the place names, Knocknagallaun and Aitogallaun, I have noted nearly 30 pillars (some in line) and two circles. The finest of all is the ogmic pillar at Ballycrovane Harbour, in “Faunkill and the woods,” 17½ feet high. There are two fine standing stones on Beare Island, one 10 feet high at Coomastooka, another and two stumps up the slope to the S.W. of Ballinakilla School at Rinnagh; two stumps near

¹⁰² Beara, so far as the legends tell, did not reside in Beare. Her son was born far inland, and her husband’s residence was on Magh Feimhin, in Co. Tipperary.

¹⁰³ Several of these are noted in Capt. T. M. Keogh’s *Short Account of the History and Antiquities of Beare Island and Berehaven* (Bournemouth), pp. 6-12—a very helpful pamphlet.

the road eastward from the school, and a fallen one, $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, on the hill above Shee Head. Round Castletown, we find two on its very skirts to the west, the eastern 11 feet by 18 inches by 16 inches, the western in a grove is 9 feet by 8 inches by 5 inches. To the north of the town, and west from the cemetery, in Foildanig, are a tall pillar, with two stumps eastward. Four are in Clonglashan on the S. slope of Miskish, two tall pillars and two stumps eastward: two more lie farther westward near the stream in Fanaghy; one in Crompane near the old road to Allihies over the ridge. Under Hungry Hill we have Darriheendermot pillar, in Commons, and three at Curraduff near Rossmackeowen. A very fine one is on a ridge above Knockroe school and another in the valley; one in Gour at the curve of the main road above Pulleen Lakes; two (or three) at Urlin, near Caherkeen; four and a stone cross round Keelmackeowen. R. Downing's list,¹⁰⁴ given to Windele in 1849, mentions a *gullaun* near "Tuoloeragh" (Keeloge); Deroura (between Gowlane and Keelmackeowen), near the south end of Caheravart (where is a notable ring wall, with a cemetery and stone) called, I think, "Buffickil altar and fort of stone,"¹⁰⁵ in this list.

Of the stone circles of Ardgroom and Derreenataggart, Mr. Henry Saxton Crawford describes and illustrates in our *Journal*¹⁰⁶ the stone circle there called Canfea. It is 25 feet in diameter and well preserved, consisting of 9 stones, from $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet to $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. The other circle, of which I give a plan and photographs in part II. of this paper, is 27 feet across inside. It, too, has 9 standing stones, the highest 7 feet 9 inches. I show on the plan the dimensions of the chief stones. It commands a most lovely view of Castletown, the Haven and the Mountains, standing behind Harbourview House.¹⁰⁷ There is no ring fort (I think) of exceptional interest or preservation; Capt. Keogh mentions forts near Eyerries. I did not see any of these, nor are they marked on the maps. Beside the Caheravart ring wall there are others—one, Lisnagat, near the road, and another on Dromard ridge, near Ardgroom Harbour; one in Leehanemore, much defaced, but with good facing inside to the S.W.; one near Knockroe school; and Caherkeen (Caherquinn, 1655). Others are in Drom North, between Dunboy and Castletown; at Thornhill, south of Hungry Hill; and in Greenaun on Beare Island. Another, called Killeenagh Gobbeen, there, and Caherphuca. I know only of the names Caher, Cahermeelebo (Cahermelabo 1655), Cahergarriiff, Greenaun, Ballydangan, Dooneen and Dangan. The records give a few more—Duncrey 1591, and Cahercroagh 1655. besides Caherquin, Cahermelabo, Cahergarriiff, and others.

¹⁰⁴ *Topog. Cork W. & N. E.*, p. 855.

¹⁰⁵ *R. Soc. Anti. Ir.*, xxxv, pp. 171-2.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 171-3.

¹⁰⁷ It can be reached by a most picturesque old laneway and a foot-bridge of 2 slabs with a dry stone pier.

Of the promontory forts (as we shall see) only Doonagh, the two Dooneens, Doonroe (on Blackball Head¹⁰⁸), Doonagall, or Doonigar, and Doonbeg, on Beare Island, have specific names.

Of the many ogmic inscriptions reported to Windele only four are known to exist—the utterly defaced one in Derreenataggart plantation, beside the road west from Castletown, the perfect one at Faunkill; the third is in Gour on the road west from Castletown, up the spur, where it turns southward towards the sea. It is a slate slab, 7 feet high by 2 feet 3 inches by 7 inches. On the left angle (farthest from the road) is the word “Cari,” very finely scribed. A fourth, the Kilcaskin church pillar,¹⁰⁹ lies at Adrigool, far beyond our limit, and reads “Luguqrit (ti maqi addi) lonas.” We shall have more to note of the Faunkill menhir.¹¹⁰

Of dolmens, I hear that a fallen one stands where the map marks two pillars. Windele mentions that on Beare Island, of which we shall say more in its place. He mentions “druidical” stones, evidently natural boulders and rocking stones. One is at Cloch Barraigh; one between Castletown and Rossmackeowen, and others near Glengarriff, at Caha Mountain, and at Reenmeen near Cromwell’s Bridge, but with these my paper is not concerned.

(To be continued.)

¹⁰⁸ The coast nomenclature (at least the English names) is equally childish. Inept names from animals abound—Hog’s, Lamb’s, Dog’s, Cod’s, Crow, and Sheep’s Head, or ones like Toe Head, Mizen, Horn, and Galley Heads. Most were probably given by sailors. Myssen, Sheep’s and Cod’s Heads are as old as the Maps 1590-1610, on which Speed’s is based.

¹⁰⁹ Windele heard of this but could not find it (*Topog. Co. Cork W. & N. E.*, pp. 873 and 887). “Mr. Wright, too, said there was none.”

¹¹⁰ *Ogham Inscribed Monuments of the Gaedhil* (R. Rolt Brash, 1879), p. 127, pl. vii; *Ogham Inscriptions* (Sir S. Ferguson, 1887), p. 103; *Studies in Irish Epigraphy*, iii, p. 47 (R. A. Macalister). Paper in *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, xxvii, pp. 339 and 349 (J. MacNeill). John Windele first notes it, but relies on the sketch of a correspondent, R. E. Windele, 1856 (MS. 12 J. 10, *R. I. Acad.*, pp. 895-918). Deche, Deda, or Dega (ancient “Decent,” cf., “Arx Decentorum” in Britain) was an ancestral god, giving his name to Loch—Sliab—and Gleann Dechet (see *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, xxxiv, p. 159). The Clann Dedad are said to have migrated to Munster temp. Eochaid Airem and to have been confirmed in their new lands about B.C. 137 by Eochu Feidlioch, Queen Medb’s father.

WOODEN BOOK WITH LEAVES INDENTED AND WAXED FOUND NEAR SPRINGMOUNT BOG, CO. ANTRIM.

By E. C. R. ARMSTRONG, F.S.A., *Vice-President*, and
PROFESSOR R. A. S. MACALISTER, LITT.D., *Fellow*.

[Read 24 FEBRUARY 1920].

THE wooden book with indented and waxed leaves was acquired by the National Museum in 1914 from Mr. W. Gregg, of "The Beeches," Clough, Co. Antrim. Mr. Gregg has written an account of his discovery of the book. His communication, dated 29th November, 1919, is as follows :—

" Your letter to hand to-day. *Re* wooden Psalm Book purchased from me in 1914, I may say that the name Springmount Bog is only a local name. The bog where I dug up the book is in the townland of Ballyhitherland, or hutherland, I am not certain which is correct. This bog lies within half a mile of the historic village of Clough (Co. Antrim), and 7 miles north of Ballymena. Less than half a mile from the bog is the site of a very ancient monastery in the townland of Drumakeely. This monastery, which is mentioned in more than one Irish history, stood on the bank of the Clough river beside a ford which it is supposed was used by travellers between Carrickfergus, Shane's Castle, and Dunluce Castle. Ballyhutherland bog is one of a chain of bogs which extends for about 4 miles, and covers an area of over 1,000 acres. On the banks of Ballyhutherland bog a number of remains of a landing stage have been discovered. These include some dug-out canoes and paddles, a number of wooden tubs, and a number of flint implements. With regard to the book, I may say that I found it when cutting turf, at the depth of four feet in the upper or brown strata of bog. Since then the lot and other surrounding lots have been all cut away, without anything being found of this nature. Hoping the above details may be of use to you."

The book, which is shown closed in figure 1, measures $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, and 3 inches in breadth ; it has a depth of $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches. It is composed of six leaves, each about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch thick. Professor A. Henry, F.L.S., M.R.I.A., examined the leaves, and is of opinion

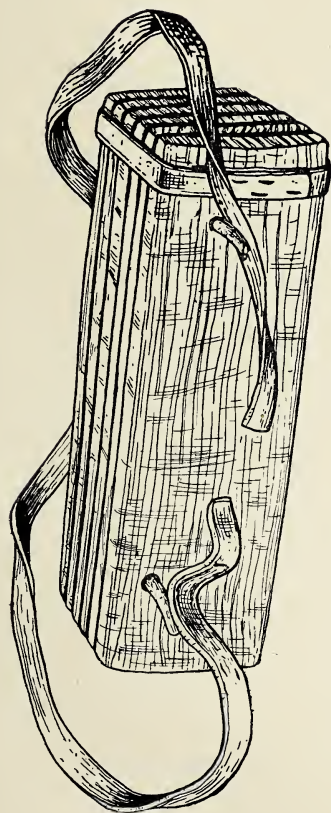


FIG. 1.—BOOK CLOSED ($\frac{1}{3}$).

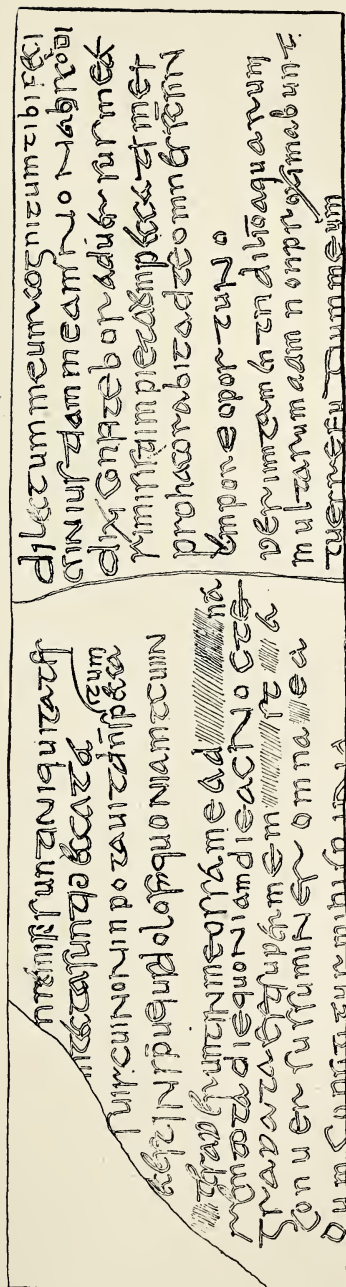


FIG. 2.—TABLET III.—Verso.

WOODEN BOOK FOUND IN CO. ANTRIM.

that the wood from which they were made is yew. It agrees well in external appearance with a piece of bog-yew from Clonad in King's County ; and a microscopical examination of a minute fragment showed it to be similar in structure to yew.

The leaves, which are grooved out about $\frac{1}{16}$ th of an inch, leaving a margin of about $\frac{1}{2}$ - $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch all round, are waxed and inscribed on both sides, with the exception of the two outer leaves ; these are waxed on the inner side only. Each leaf is pierced with two holes on the upper side ; the apertures being respectively $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch, from the ends. A tongue of leather was passed through these holes to keep the leaves in position. Leather bands, of which one only remains, were apparently placed round each end of the book. To these was attached a strap to enable the book to be slung round the shoulders of the person who carried it. The strap, which is $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch broad, is now broken into two pieces. The larger portion measures 29 inches ; to it is attached a tongue of leather 2 inches long for insertion into the pierced leaves. The smaller strap is $18\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length ; the band attached to it, which passed over the end of the closed book, measures $3\frac{3}{8}$ by 2 inches ; it is $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch wide. The leather appears to have been stitched with waxed cord.

The excellent condition of the wooden leaves and the appearance of the leather straps do not suggest that the book belongs to an early date. It may, however, go back as far as the mediæval period.

To treat generally the subject of writing tablets with a view of establishing a comparison with those found at Springmount would carry us too far. But those desirous of pursuing the subject may consult the elaborate paper by Prof. T. M'Kenny Hughes in *Archæologia* (vol. lv. p. 257), which has special reference to tablets of mediæval date, and includes a bibliography of the subject to which may be added Mr. J. G. Waller's description of the "tabella" found at Blythburgh, Suffolk, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* (vol. xix, p. 40).

E. C. R. A.

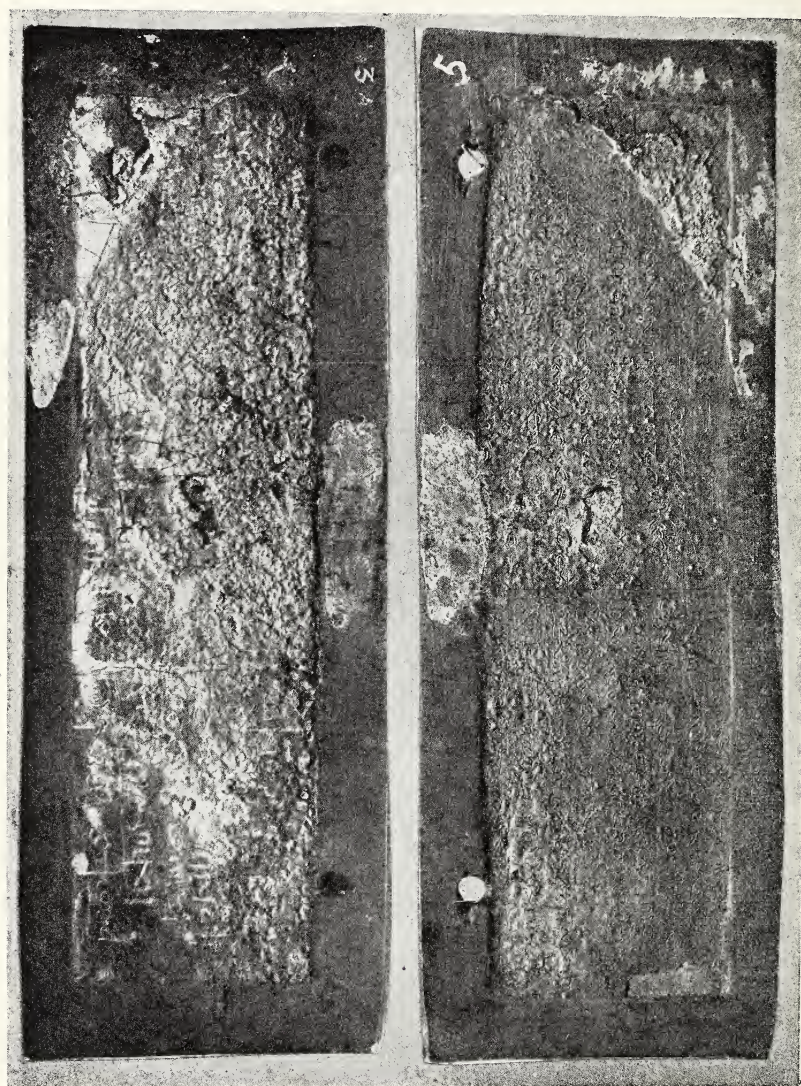
The writing begins on the *verso* of tablet I, and continues to the *recto* of tablet VI. It is in a good clear hand, wherever the state of the wax permits us to read it at all ; and there are from eight to ten lines on each page. On tablet I, *verso*, these lines run right across the page ; but on the remaining pages they are divided into two columns, separated by a roughly-drawn stroke.

The writing is so arranged that the reader starts from the outer long edge of the *verso* page in a single opening, and reads continuously through to the outer long edge of the *recto* page of the following tablet. In other words, the top of the writing is on the hinge side of the *recto* pages, on the outer side opposite the hinge of the *verso* pages.

The writing on tablet I, *verso*, is all fairly legible, except in the middle, where a block of wax from tablet II, *recto*, has adhered. This has destroyed the corresponding place in tablet II, *recto*; the ends of the lines of the second column are also difficult to read on this page, owing to the decomposition of the wax. Tablet II, *verso*, is obscured in its upper left-hand corner by a block of wax torn from tablet III, *recto*; and the lowermost lines are completely gone, the wax being decomposed and scraped away almost (here and there quite) to the wooden backing. Tablet III, *recto*, has the upper part of the wax quite destroyed on the right-hand side, so that the opening lines of the first column cannot be recovered. The second column is tolerably legible, though it is doubtful if anyone could decipher its upper lines with assurance unless he knew what to look for. Tablet III, *verso*, on the other hand, is almost in perfect order; the upper left-hand corner has been torn off by adhesion to tablet IV, *recto*, and there are a few small detriments besides, but practically the whole page can be read easily. Tablet IV, *recto*, would be undecipherable, except for the last few lines of the second column, if the text were unfamiliar; but most of it can be traced when the words are known. Tablet IV, *verso*, is much decayed; only a few scattered letters can be made out. The same is true to an even greater extent in the two faces of tablet V and the *recto* of tablet VI; the wax is decayed and the writing beyond hope.

The text contains Psalm xxx (Vulgate enumeration, Hebrew and English Authorised Version xxxi) and xxxi (=xxxii English version). Presumably the destroyed surfaces bore Psalm xxxii (=xxxiii); and something that looks like *uociferatione* in column i of tablet IV, *verso*, and *congregans* in column ii of the same, accords with this; these words occur in verses 3 and 7 respectively of the psalm in question. But to decipher this part of the writing further is impossible. I therefore confine myself to transcribing Psalms xxx-xxxii, which occupy from tablet I, *verso*, to tablet IV, *recto*.

A blank is sometimes, but not always, left at the end of a verse of the psalter when this comes before the end of a line of writing. The irregularity in this respect makes stichometry difficult if not impossible in the more injured parts of the book.



TABLETS III—Verso, and IV—Recto (about $\frac{2}{3}$).

WOODEN BOOK FOUND IN CO. ANTRIM.

In the following transcript I have added for reference the numbers of the psalms and verses. A vertical stroke denotes the end of a line, a double stroke (||) the end of a column. Words which are decipherable, however faintly, are printed in *italics*, words which cannot be deciphered, but which we may presume to have been written, are printed in ordinary type. Words and letters which the scribe has omitted are enclosed within angled brackets < >. The contractions which occur (*dñe*, etc.) are retained.

TABLET I—*VERSO*

PSALMUS XXX

1. *in te dñe* < > *peravi non confunda in eternum in iustitia tua | libera me*
2. *inclina ad me aurem tuam adcelera ut eruas me | esto mihi in dñm protectorem et in domum refugii ut saluum me facias |*
3. *quoniam fortitudo mea et refugium meum es tu et propter nomen | tuum deduces me et inutries me*
4. *educes me de laqueo* < h > *oc quem abscon | derunt mihi • quoniam tu es protector meus*
5. *in manus tuas dñe se | commendo spm meum redimisti me domine deus ueritatis |*
6. *odisti obseruantes uanitates supervacue ego am* [= autem, inserted above line] *in dno speravi*

TABLET II—*RECTO*

7. *exultabo et le* < ta > *bor in misericordia tua | quoniam respexisti humilitatem meam | saluasti di nicissitatibus animam meam |*
8. *nec conclusisti me in manibus inimici | statuisti in loco spatioso pedes meos |*
9. *miserere me* < i > *dñe quoniam tribulor | contur* < ba > *tus est in ira oculus meus | anima mea et uenter meus , , ||*
10. *quoniam defecit in dolore uita mea | et anni mei in gemitibus | infirmata est in paupertate uirtus mea | et ossa mea conturbata sunt*
11. *super omnis inimicos meos | factus sum obprobrium | et uicinis meis ualde et timor | notis meis qui uidebant me | foras fugerunt a me |*
12. *obliuioni datus sum , , ,*

TABLET II—*VERSO*

- tamquam mortuus a corde | factus sum tanquam uas perditum |
 13. quoniam audiui uituperationem multorum | commorantium in
 circuitu in eo dum conuenirent simul aduersum me | accipere
 animam meam consiliati sunt
 14. ego am | in te speraui dñe dixi deus meus es tu |
 15. in manibus tuis sortes mee eripe me de manu | inimicorum
 meorum et a persequentibus me ||
 16. inlostra faciem tuam super | seruum tuum¹ saluum me fac in
 miseri|cordia tua
 17. dñe nec confundar | quoniam uocaui te | erubescant impii et
 deducantur | in infernum
 18. muta fiant | labia dolosa que loquentur | aduersus iustum
 iniquitatem | in superbia et in abusione

TABLET III—*RECTO*

19. quam magna multitudo dulcedinis tua dñe quam | abscondisti
 timentibus te perfecisti eis qui | sperant in te in conspectu
 filiorum hominum |
 20. abscondes eos in abscondito faciei tue | a conturbatione hominum
 proteges eos in tabernaculo | tuo a contradictione linguarum
 21. benedictus dñs | quoniam mirificauit misericordiam suam mihi
 in | ciuitate munita
 22. ego [sic] am dixi in excessu || mentis mee proiectus sum a facie |
 oculorum tuorum ideo exaudisti uocem orationis mee | dum
 clamarem ad te
 23. diligele oms sancti dm | quoniam ueritatem requirit dns | et
 retribuit his qui habundant in | agant
 superuiam .
 24. uiriliter agite | et confortitur cor uestrum | omnes² qui speratis
 in dño

TABLET III—*VERSO*

PSALMUS XXXI

1. beati quorum remisse sunt iniquitates | et quorum tecta sunt
 peccata |
 2. beatus uir cui non inpotauit dñs peccatum | nec est in spū eius
 dolos
 3. quoniam t<a>cui in | ueterauerunt in me ossa mea dum clama |
 rem tota die

¹ Omitted and afterwards inserted above the line.² The *m* of *omnes* is written inside the *o* here and in Ps. xxxi, 11.

4. *quoniam die ac nocte | gravata est super me manus tua conuersus
sum in eromna mea | dum configitur mihi spina ||*
5. *dilectum [sic] meum cognitum tibi feci | et inius<ti>tiam
meam non abscōdi | dixi confitebor aduersus [sic] me <iniusti-
tiam meam domino> et | <tu> remisisti impietatem peccati
mei*
6. *pro hac orabit ad te omnis sc̄s in | tēpore oportuno | verum-
tamen tn [sic] dil̄io aquarum multarum aam [sic] non
<ap>proximabunt |*
7. *tu es refugium meum*

TABLET IV—RECTO

- a tribulatione que circumdedit me | exultatio mea erue me a
circumstantibus me |
8. *intellectum tibi dabo et instruam te | in uia <h>ac qua
gradieris firmabo super | te oculos meos*
9. *nolite fieri sicut equus et mulus | quibus non est intellectus in
camo et fre|no maxillas eorum constringe | qui non ap-
proximant ad te*
10. *multa | flagella peccatoris || sperantem autem in | dñō miseri-
cordia | circumdabit |*
11. *letam<i>ni in dñō | et exultate iusti | et gloriāmini | omnes
recti corde*

I leave to specialists in that very difficult subject, the critical study of the Latin versions of the Bible, the task of commenting on the text. I must content myself with the following amateurish observations.

I have collated the above text of the two psalms with an edition of the Vulgate published at Louvain in 1788.

The following *variae lectiones* are to be noted :—

Ps. xxx 5. *dñe se* [? sancte] not in printed text. The Old Latin version has here *in manibus tuis commendo domine spiritum meum*.

Ps. xxx 17. *dñe nec confundar*. In printed text, *Domine non confundar* which is also the reading of the Old Latin. For *uocaui* the printed text has *inuocaui*. This is likewise Old Latin.

Ps. xxx 23. Here the scribe's memory seems to have failed him. The verse should begin *Diligite Dominum omnes sancti eius*. In the latter part, the Old Latin here reads *et retribuit his qui abundanter faciunt superbias* (v.l. *superbiam*). The Vulgate Version is *et retribuet abundanter facientibus superbiam*. The text before us seems to be a confusion of the two. The scribe has written *agant* tentatively between the lines, as though he was aware that

the *faciunt* of the Old Version had been altered, but was not sure of the exact nature of the change.

Ps. xxxi 3. *in me* not in printed text. Vulgate reads *inueterauerunt ossa mea*. Old Latin *inu. omnia ossa mea*; the *in me* of the text may perhaps be a corruption of *omnia*.

Ps. xxxi 4. *mihi* (before *spina*) does not appear in the Louvain edition, but it is a recorded v.l.

Ps. xxxi 5. The scribe has carelessly omitted three important words as noted by the angled brackets. In verse 6 *tn* and *aam* somehow represent *in* and *ad eum* respectively.

Ps. xxxi 6. The reading *proximabunt* is Old Latin.

From various references in the Lives of Saints it would appear that the Psalms were the first text-book studied by ecclesiastical students.³ These were written on waxen tablets by their instructors. On one occasion St. Maedog was with a boy beside a cross; and he wrote a psalm for the boy and when he had written it, the boy saw him ascending by a golden ladder between heaven and earth, carrying with him the "waxen tablet" (*ceraculum*) of the boy⁴—it appeared afterwards that he had gone temporarily to heaven to share in the joyful reception of Colum Cille, who had just passed away. Again, when St. Ciaran was a boy herding his parents' cattle, he received the rudiments of his learning—to wit, the psalms—in the following manner. His tutor was a deacon living at the place now called Fuerty, some sixteen miles away from the home of Ciaran's parents. The tutor used to dictate, speaking in an ordinary voice in his cell. Ciaran, though so far off, heard and wrote, and a fox carried his tablets to the tutor for correction.⁵ Whatever we may think of the story itself, its "stage properties" include such a book as that before us; and, indeed at the time when the Lives of St. Ciaran were written, the book, with marks upon it explained as produced by the fox's teeth, was actually in existence.

The writing is too good to be that of a mere pupil: it was probably written by a master for purposes of instruction. The writer evidently trusted to his memory, and though it served him well, it was not infallible. Especially interesting are what appear to be lapses into the Old Latin Version; but we must await the future historian of the Bible text in Ireland to learn from him whether these have any significance in dating the document.

R. A. S. M.

³ Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, vol. i, p. cxv.

⁴ *Vita Sancti Maedoc*, Plummer, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 156-7.

⁵ *Vita Sancti Ciarani* in Plummer, *op. cit.*, i, 201. Stokes, *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, pp. 120, 266.

THE EARLDOM OF ULSTER.

(Continued from vol. XLV, page 142).

PART V.—INQUISITION TOUCHING LE WASTYN (CASTLETOWN KINDALEN), CO. WESTMEATH.

By GODDARD H. ORPEN, M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

IN my last paper on the Earldom of Ulster, I mentioned that there were certain inquisitions taken in 1333 touching lands of the Earl situated outside the provinces of Ulster and Connaught. I now propose to lay before the Society abstracts of the inquisitions touching the lands of Le Wastyn or Castletown Kindalen, and the barony of Ratoath, accompanied by some brief introductory notes.

The lands of Le Wastyn lay within the Irish territory of Cenel Fhiachach, a name variously anglicised Kenaliagh, Kineleagh, Kinalea, &c. This territory is said to have extended at one time from the Hill of Uisnech to Birr, but it was afterwards divided between the Mageoghegans and the Molloyes, and Cenel Fhiachach, or Mageoghegan's country, was considered as co-extensive with the present barony of Moycashel in Westmeath.¹ The early history of the manor here is obscure, and references to it are few and indirect, but for reasons to be given immediately I think the lands were at first included in, or annexed to, the Manor of Dysart on the western shores of Lough Ennell.

When the first Hugh de Lacy granted "Matherothirnan" (Magheradernon) to William le Petit he excepted from the grant the lake and vill of Dysart and one knight's fee around the vill, which he retained in his own hand.² The church of Dysart under

¹ See O'Donovan's note (30) to O'Dubhagain, *Topographical Poems*, p. viii.

² See the copy of this charter transcribed in Song of Dermot, p. 310. I take this opportunity of pointing out that the Rauakonil there mentioned as having a wood, which was divided between the tenements, lying between it and Killar [Killare] cannot be Rathconnell to the east of Mullingar, as I there suggested, but is probably now represented by the townland of Rowe (*Rubha*) adjoining Mosstown demesne in Rathconrath, and separated from Killare church by little more than a mile (See *Four Masters*, 798, 1159; *Ann. Clon.*, 800, 1159). There may have been two places in Westmeath called *Rubha Conaill*, but of the two the townland of Rowe alone suits the Petit charter, and the *nemus* was evidently "the woods of Ruffa or Rubha" mentioned in the Annals of Dudley Firbisse (*Misc. Irish Arch. Soc.*, vol. i. p. 217, *cf.*, note, p. 276). I think it is also the wood called *Coillte an rubha* in *Four Masters*, 1475 (vol. iv, p. 1094).

the disguise of "*ecclesia Lohenni de Dissermoltuh*," or less obscurely, "*ecclesia de Lochannin de Disertimoletuh*" (*Disert Maile Tuile*) was granted to the Canons of St. Thomas's Abbey, Dublin, before 1202, when the grant was confirmed by Giovanni de Salerno, Cardinal-legate to Ireland in that year, and by Simon de Rochford, Bishop of Meath;³ but it does not appear who the original grantor was, whether a De Lacy or a sub-feoffee. It appears incidentally, however, from a late inquisition (1263) that the lands of Dysart were held of Walter de Lacy by William (son of Roger) Pipard, who also held of the Crown the barony of Ardee in Louth. He died c. 1227, when the custody of his lands and of his infant daughter and heir, Alice, was given by the King to Ralph Fitz-Nicholas,⁵ The guardian, as often happened, seems to have given his ward in marriage to his own son, and accordingly in 1252 we find that "Ralph fitzRalph fitzNicholas" held the Pipard lands for life, *i.e.*, *jure uxoris*.⁶ The son and heir of this marriage was another Ralph who, as was commonly done when the mother was an heiress, retained his mother's maiden name and was known as Ralph Pipard.⁷ He was born about 1244 or a little earlier, and he first came to Ireland in 1265.⁸ He was generally an absentee, and in 1301 he granted all his lands in Ireland to the King.⁹ An extent of his manor of Dysart was taken in January, 1303,¹⁰ and this extent affords the first indication that the lands called Le Wastyn in our inquisition had been annexed to, but were becoming separated from, the Manor of Dysart.

In the first place some of the jurors and of the tenants of Dysart in 1303, or members of the same families, appear as jurors or holding lands in Le Wastyn thirty years later, *viz.*: Thomas Colmor, Henry Palmer, Richard Cachefreyne, Thomas Brun, and Thomas Fitz Allure (Alured or Auerey). Next, Thomas Fitz Allure is called in the Dysart extent, as printed by Sweetman "late lord of Kynalcan"—names which appear more correctly in an entry on the Justiciary Rolls for 1307 as Thomas le fiz Auuerey and Kenalean¹¹—and the jurors say that "he used to hold of Ralph Pipard 70 carucates of land in Kynalcan (Kenalean) by the service

³ *Register of St. Thomas's Abbey, Dublin*, pp. 224, 271.

⁴ *Cal. of Inquisitions (Miscellaneous)*, no. 281; *Cal. Docs., Ireland*, vol. ii, no. 740.

⁵ *Patent Roll*, 12 Hen. III, p. 172; *Cal. Docs. Ireland*, vol. i, nos. 1541, 1580. Walter de Lacy resisted this grant so far as it concerned the Meath lands.

⁶ *Close Roll*, 35 Hen. III, m. 14; and 36 Hen. III, m. 14 (not yet published); see *Cal. Docs., Ireland*, vol. ii, nos. 42, 43.

⁷ *Cal. Genealogicum*, 1 Edw. 1, p. 198.

⁸ *Cal. Docs., Ireland*, vol. ii, no. 765.

⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. iv, no. 834.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. v, no. 167.

¹¹ *Justiciary Rolls*, vol. ii, p. 353. "Kynalcan" is probably a mis-transcription of "Kynalean."

of three knight's fees and doing suit at the court of Dysart." Now, 70 carucates contained 8,400 acres, equivalent to at least twice as many modern statute acres, and this large amount, added to the 840 acres mentioned in the extent of Dysart as held in demesne or by other tenants, cannot possibly be represented by the 7,415 statute acres now comprising the present parish of Dysart. Where then was "Kenalean"?

Now, in the northern part of *Cenél Fhiachach*, near the Hill of Usnech, was a territory known as *Cenél Enda* or *Ceneal Eanna*, as the name came to be written, so called according to the genealogists, from Enna brother of Fiacha (a quo *Cenél Fhiachach*), both being sons of Niall of the nine Hostages and progenitors of branches of the *Ui Néill*.

The *cenél Enda* were primarily seated in the north, between Lough Swilly and Lough Foyle, but an offshoot must have carried the name to the district in Meath. As a territorial name, it is mentioned there in the Annals translated by Duaid Mac Firbis under the year 1452.¹² O'Dubhagain mentions it next after "the illustrious Clann Eochagáin of *Cenél Fhiachach*."¹³ O'Flaherty gives its position and the name of the ruling family thus:—O'Broenain, in Kinel Enda prope Usneach collem in Kinel-fiachia.¹⁴

In our inquisition the lands of Brenanyston (now the townland of Ballybrennan in the parish of Castletown Kindalen) are included, and this name presumably owes its origin to the family of O'Broenáin or O'Braonáin. Moreover, Father Paul Walsh has edited an Elegy on Emonn O'Braonáin,¹⁵ from which it appears that Emonn lived at Baile Adhaimh, now Adamstown¹⁶ in the northern part of the parish of Castletown Kindalen. This place, as will be seen, is mentioned in the fore-front of our inquisition.

But further, Father Paul Walsh has conjectured that *Cenél Eanna* as a territorial name has survived in the distinguishing element of Castletown Kindalen. This name appears in an inquisition taken at Mullingar in 1563 as "Villa de Castleton et Kenalena in patria de Kenaliaghe" (*Cenél Fhiachach*),¹⁷ and in an inquisition on the lands of Hugh Mageoghegan taken in 1624 as "manerium villa et terra de Castletone Kynnalene" or "Kin-

¹² *Miscellany Irish Archaeological Society*, vol. i, p. 234, and note, p. 287. The next entry mentions the Leaccain of the Rubha, evidently not far off, and thus confirming my former note on "Rauakonil."

¹³ *Topographical Poems*, pp. 2, 10, and note (31).

¹⁴ *Ogygia* (ed. 1685), p. 401, where the chief's name is faultily printed "O'Broenam."

¹⁵ *Irisleabhar Maighe Nuadhat* (1913), p. 19.

¹⁶ See *Inquis. Lagenie* (Westmeath), no. 82, Car. i. Edmund Brenan died 1632.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 1, Elizabeth.

alene."¹⁸ These inquisitions preserve the earlier anglicised form of the name and indicate that it was not derived from a family named O'Coindealbhain (Kindelan), though his family name may have influenced the later spelling, but represented the ancient territorial designation Cenél Eanna, which, as we have seen, is otherwise attested in this part of Cenél Fhiachach. From the above it seems quite clear that "Kenalean," of which Thomas Fitz Allure[d] or Auerey in 1303 was late lord, is to be identified with Cenél Eanna, now known as Castletown Kindalen, i.e., the Castle-town of Kinalene, or *Cenél Eanna*. How the lands also came known as "Le Wastyn" we shall be in a better position to decide when we have followed their history further.

This Thomas FitzAuerey was a member of a family whose name first appears as Fitz Alured. In a story told of the exile of Walter and Hugh de Lacy in 1210 it is stated that Walter, in recognition of the shelter and succour afforded him by the Abbot of St. Taurin (at Evreux in Normandy), brought back with him John, son of Alured; and enfeoffed him in the manor of Dengle [Dengyn or Dangan in Co. Meath].¹⁹ Though all the details of this story cannot be trusted,²⁰ the alleged grant of Dengyn seems authentic. Thomas and Walter *fili Aluredi* made grants of the church of Laracor near Dangan to the Canons of St. Thomas's Abbey before 1210.²¹ The name was afterwards written Auerey, Averay, &c., and in 1300 Thomas Fitz Averay entailed the manor of Dengyn on "Thomas son of John, son of Thomas FitzAveray," apparently the settlor's grandson. It is probable that the settlor was the man who about the same time held the lands in Kinalean, and that the grandson was the juror on the inquisition of 1333.

The extent of Dysart, moreover, goes on to show how the lands in Kinalean became separated from the manor of Dysart. The entry is illegible in some places, but the deficiencies can be supplied and the facts ascertained with the help of the entry in the Justiciary Roll before referred to. From these two entries it appears that about the year 1287 Ralph Pipard sold his manor of Dysart to John de Kent²² and directed Thomas Fitz Auerey, then his tenant, to be responsive to John de Kent; but Thomas never

¹⁸ See *Inquis. Lagenie* (Westmeath), no. 65, Jac. 1.

¹⁹ *Laud. M.S., Annals, Chart. St Mary's Abbey*, vol. ii, p. 311, cf., *Grace's Annals*, 1210.

²⁰ See *Ireland under the Normans*, vol. ii, p. 258.

²¹ *Register St. Thomas's Abbey, Dublin*, p. 42; cf., p. 277. *Thomas Filius Aluredi* was one of the witnesses to the elder Hugh de Lacy's grant of "Matherothirnan" to William Petit, to which reference has been made. This is one of many indications that members of this family were settled in Meath long prior to 1210.

²² In a plaint at Loughseudy, in 1299, John de Kancia (Kent), Lord of Dysart, is mentioned along with people of the names of Brun, Palmer, Bossher (Bucher), and Colmor: *Justiciary Rolls*, vol. i, pp. 283-4.

attorned to John, and in July, 1301, Thomas sold his tenement of "Kenalean" to John de Fresingfeld to hold to him and his heirs for ever of the chief lords of the fee. It further appears that about the time of his making the charter to the King, Ralph Pipard recovered his manor of Dysart from John de Kent, who was then in the King's prison at Oxford (and died shortly afterwards); and accordingly, when Ralph granted all his lands to the King, John de Fresingfeld became tenant in chief of the King, and on 9 April, 1307, did fealty to the King for his tenement in Kenalean. At the same time John de Fresingfeld made this express claim, "that though the King should render to the heirs of John de Kent said manor [of Dysart], John de Fresingfeld is not bound to attorn to them, because John de Kent was never in seisin of having any intendment of said Thomas [le flz Auuerey]." ²³

Thus it was, I think, that the lands in Kenalean known as Le Wastyn became separated from the manor of Dysart. But how did they come into the possession of the De Burgh's? Here again the evidence is indirect. On the 22nd July, 1304, at the close of Edward's successful campaign in Scotland, where he was assisted by Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, then at the height of his power, the King at Stirling with the assent of his Queen, Margaret of France, granted to Richard de Burgh the custody of the land and heir of Ralph Pipard. ²⁴

This at any rate, gave the Earl a personal interest in the peace of the region to the west and south of Lough Ennell. We have a picture of its state at the commencement of the fourteenth century drawn by the local jurors of the Dysart inquisition. After stating that the lands held by John de Fresingfeld were "totally in the march of warlike land," they go on to say that "the manor [of Dysart] aforesaid is so contiguous to the Irish of Leinster and Meath that no English or peaceful man remains among them, and that the manor will not answer to the lord for any profit unless the lord shall apply a custody there"; that "this custody in time of peace, which is very rare, would cost at least ten marks a year, and when the neighbouring Irish are at war and the Irish of Leinster at peace the custody will cost at least 20s. [marks?] a year, and if on the contrary the Irish aforesaid are at war the custody could not be carried on at £40 a year." Probably the Earl was about the only man in Ireland who could care to undertake the custody of Dysart, and would only do so on obtaining a grant of the Marchlands of Kinaleagh for himself, so that he might have a free hand there. We may infer with confidence that by some arrangement with John Fresingfeld the lands known as Le Wastyn passed at about this time to the De Burghs.

²³ *Cal. Docs. Ireland*, vol. v, no. 167, and *Justiciary Rolls*, vol. ii, p. 353.

²⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 32 Ed. I., p. 260; *Cal. Docs., Ireland*, vol. v, no. 323.

But we are not left entirely to conjecture, however probable. On the 20th of January, 1307, there was an order for "payment to Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, of 1,000 marks which the King grants to him by ordinance of the prelates, earls, and magnates of Ireland to subdue Moryertagh Macnahegan, a public enemy who had committed homicidal burnings and other felonies in Ireland, and whom the Earl had subdued as to [by?] the ordinance directed, completing the premises at his expense."²⁵

Those who are familiar with the bungling of English scribes and transcribers over Irish names will have little difficulty in conjecturing that the above-mentioned "public enemy" was Muirchertach Mor MacEochagain, chief of the descendants of Fiachaidh son of Niall (Cenél Fhiachach), who was himself slain by the English a few years later.²⁶

It would seem that when Richard de Burgh subdued Mageoghegan in 1305 or 1306 he made a partition of Kinalea, leaving most of the southern part of the barony of Moycashel to the Irish chief. Certainly, of the 70 carucates which formerly belonged to Thomas Fitz Averey little more than 25 carucates were included in the lands of Le Wastyn, and these, so far as I have ascertained, were in the present parishes of Castletown Kindalen and Churchtown. These 25 carucates must, however, have been in general peaceably held by the Earl, for at his death, in 1326, the lands were worth (apart from the royal services, of the military tenants) £41 12s. 2d. Soon after his death, however, in August, 1329, fighting broke out with "William Macgoghdan,"²⁷ with disastrous results to the English. Thomas le Botiller, who at this time held the manor of Mullingar,²⁸ and thirteen prominent Meath landholders bearing the names of Ledwich, Nangle, Petit, Waring, Tyrel, White, Freynes, and Kent, with 140 of their men were slain near Ardnurcher.²⁹ In the following November John Darcy, the justiciar, led a force towards Meath to subdue William McYoghan.³⁰ Next year the English slew about 40 of the Mageoghegans near "Loghynerty" [*Loch Ainninne*, Lough Ennell?], whereupon "Macgoghdan" in his wrath burned and plundered 15 small townlands in the vicinity and the English in

²⁵ *Cal. Docs. Ireland*, vol. v, no. 609.

²⁶ *Ann. Loch Cé*, 1311.

²⁷ This was presumably William *Gallda*, son of Murtough Mor Mageoghegan. He died in 1332 (*Four Masters*). The soubriquet *gallda* was presumably given to him for his previous friendly relationship with the English.

²⁸ This Thomas Butler was a younger brother of Edmund Butler, who was justiciar from 1312 to 1317. In right of his wife Synolda, daughter and heir of William Petit, Thomas held the manors of Mullingar, Dunboyne, and Moymet: *Cal. Close Roll (Ireland)*, 17 & 18 Edw. III., p. 43 (5). He was ancestor of the Butlers of Dunboyne.

²⁹ *Laud MS. Annals*, as above, p. 370.

³⁰ 43rd Rep. D. K., p. 28.

their turn assembling, slew 110 of his men, including three sons of chieftains.³¹ Clearly, it was in consequence of all this fighting that the lands of Le Wastyn were in the devastated condition disclosed by the inquisition of 1333.

There is one other record which may be quoted as showing that immediately after Earl William's death there was further destruction at Le Wastyn, now called a manor, caused by O'Melaghlin and others. In the Escheator's accounts for the period from 2 December, 1331, to 5 March, 1335, is the following entry:—"Le Wastyn, Co. Meath—He answers nothing for the rents and issues of all the lands and tenements which belonged to said William de Burgo, late Earl of Ulster, in the manor of the Wastyn, Co. Meath, in the King's hand by the death of the said Earl from 6 July a. r. vii [1333] to 26 Aug. a. r. viii [1334], because said lands and tenements immediately after the Earl's death were destroyed and burned by Molaghlyn and other Irish felons, before they were delivered to said Matilda, Countess of Ulster, to hold in dower by writ from England delivered into the Exchequer dated 26 Aug. a. r. viii."³²

The name Le Wastyn or Vastina is puzzling. The French article suggests a French origin, but its use is by no means conclusive. It was often used to represent the Irish article, as in Le Naas *an nás*, Li Yochil (Youghal) *an eocail*; sometimes tautologically, where the initial "n" already represents the Irish article, as in Le Nobbyr, *an obair*, Le Naul, *an áill*, Le Novan, *an uamhainn* (?). Still the name Wastyn or Vastin can hardly be Irish. I think it is simply a derivative of the old French *Wast*, as in the phrase *faire wast* "to lay waste," whence the modern French *gâter*, representing older forms *gaster*, *waster*, borrowed from the Latin *uastus*, *uastare* (Skeat). The adjectival termination (Lat.—*inus*, *ina*) is moreover, to be compared with that of old territorial denominations in France, especially in Normandy, e.g., Le Bessin, Le Vexin, Le Cotentin, L'Avranchin, Le Limousin, &c. Thus Le Wastyn means the waste, or perhaps, devastated district. There is a townland in the parish of Toome, Co. Wexford, called "Waste," and the word, or rather its middle English equivalent, enters into some English place-names in the Lake District, e.g., Wastwater, Was [t] dale. The name is not attested in Cenel Fhiachach until the beginning of the fourteenth century, when, as we see by the Dysart inquisition, the place had already been devastated, and even then, so far as I know, it occurs only in Anglo-Norman documents. Richard de Burgh, when seeking a grant from the King of the devastated lands formerly annexed to the manor of Dysart, would be likely to lay stress on their waste condition, and thus the name Le Wastina

³¹ *Laud MS. Annals*, p. 373. ³² 44th Rep. D. K., p. 36.

may have become attached to the new manor which he formed. The church, which he probably restored (if he did not found it), may have taken its name from the lands in which it stood. It was valued at 20 marks in 1302-6. It presumably stood in the village of Castletown-Kindalen or Castletown-Geoghegan, as the manorial seat came to be called from its subsequent Irish lords, though the alternative name Vastina or Wastyna has persisted up to the present time. Close to the village is a remarkable mote and bailey earthwork of large dimensions which seems to be of the Norman type. If so, it was probably fashioned in the time of the elder Hugh de Lacy or soon afterwards, and we must suppose that, as in many other cases, the wooden buildings and palisading erected thereon had been suffered to fall into decay or were destroyed and abandoned before the close of the 13th century.

COUNTY MEATH. WASTYN [CASTLETOWN-KINDALEN].

Inquisition taken at Killen³³ before John Morice Escheator of Ireland on Thursday next after the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, 7 Edw. III. [1 July, 1333].

Jurors:—Theobald de Vernoyl, Knight,³⁴ Thomas Fitz Oweyn, Robert Bucher, Nicholas Brun, Henry Palmer,³⁵ Thomas Fitz-Auerey,³⁶ John Tuyt,³⁷ Bartholomew Tuyt, Nicholas Bodnam³⁸ Henry Russel, John Tancard, and Richard Rocheford, who say upon oath that—

Demesne Lands.—William de Burgh, late Earl of Ulster held in his demesne as of fee, on the day on which he died, of the King in chief by military service, divers lands and tenements in a place called Le Wastyn in County Meath, viz.: at Adameston,³⁹

³³ Killeen, a townland in the parish of Castletown-Kindalen.

³⁴ After the death in 1213 of Peter Messet, baron of Luyn [Lune], near Trim, without male heirs, his inheritance passed through his three daughters to their husbands, Lord de Vernail [Vernoyl, Verneuil], Talbot, and Loundres, respectively (*Laud M.S., Annals, Chart, St. Mary's, Dublin*, vol. ii. p. 312), and the barony was divided into the manors of Portlester, Moyrath, and Athboy (*Cal. Gormanston Register*, p. 12). On 7 January, 1331, Theobald de Vernoyl, Knight, was one of the witnesses to the entail of the manor of Athboy by William, son of William de London [Loundres], Knight (*Ibid.*, p. 174).

³⁵ Henry Palmer was a juror on the Dysart extent, 1303.

³⁶ For Thomas fitz Auerey see above.

³⁷ John Tuyt, probably of Sonnagh. He was appointed *custos pacis* for the liberty of Trim in 1346: *Cal. Patent Roll (Ireland)*, 20 Edw. III., p. 50 (5).

³⁸ Nicholas de Bodenham was one of the coroners of Meath in 1308: *Cal. Close Roll (Ireland)*, 2 Edw. II., p. 7 (24).

³⁹ Adamstown, a townland mainly in the parish of Castletown Kindalen, but partly in that of Conry.

Rogereston,⁴⁰ Mylton,⁴¹ and Colmoryston,⁴² 370 acres which used to be under the lord's plough and were worth per acre in time of peace 10*d.*, but now, because they lie waste and untilled and in the march among the Irish, each acre is worth for grazing 1*d.* per annum.

Total of old value 15*l* 8*s.* 4*d.*

Total of present value 1*l* 10*s.* 10*d.*

Waste Lands.—Four carucates and forty acres of land, each carucate containing 120 acres, in Bylrath,⁴³ Mylton, Brustnagh,⁴⁴ Clonbaltyn, Brenanyston,⁴⁵ Kyllellin, Lathard Cloghmol, Kyleley,⁴⁵ Drummore,⁴⁵ Cromore, Moyel, Rothan, Hay, Calytarson [? “Balytarsyn” in the Summary], Moytanwagh,⁴⁶ and Tullaghmel; each acre used to be worth 10*d.* as above, but now nothing, because utterly destroyed by Macoghgan and other Irishmen.⁴⁷

Total of old value £21 13*s.* 4*d.* and now nil.

Free Tenants.—22*s.* rent from lands which Henry, son of Gilbert de Burgo holds in fee at Clonmork.

6*s.* 8*d.* rent from lands which Mc ernin [?] holds there in fee.

Rent of one pair of spurs or 6*d.* from lands in Tomlynyston.

2*s.* rent out of lands in Clonmoryston.

20*s.* rent out of one carucate at Samalysrath, which Henry Russel holds there in fee.

5*s.* rent out of 60 acres in Mylton, which Hugh Tyrell holds in fee.

1*d.* rent out of 60 acres in Mylton, which Geoffrey Auerey holds in fee.

1*d.* rent out of 7 acres in Remoundeston,⁴⁸ which Remund Frysel holds in fee.

Total 2*l* 16*s.* 4*d.*

⁴⁰ Rogerstown, a townland in the parish of Churchtown and barony of Rathconrath.

⁴¹ Milltown, a townland adjoining Rogerstown, also in the parish of Churchtown.

⁴² Colmoryston was evidently so called from the family of Colmor, one of whom held a carucate here. The name seems to have been corrupted into Glomerstown, a townland in the parish of Churchtown, adjoining Rogerstown. Here the Midland Great Western Railway is carried over the castle site. The above four townlands now contain 2,108 statute acres, but portions of the same denominations appear below as held by freeholders.

⁴³ Balrath, a townland in the parish of Castletown Kindalen.

⁴⁴ Probably Mabrista, a townland in Castletown Kindalen.

⁴⁵ Ballybrennan, Killalea and Dromore are all townlands in the parish of Castletown, Kindalen.

⁴⁶ Probably the Irish *Magh Tamhnach*. Is it not the place so called in *Four Masters*, 1475, vol. iv, p. 1094.

⁴⁷ The above places presumably represent the “15 small townlands” burned by Mageoghgan in 1330, as above mentioned.

⁴⁸ Redmondstown, a townland in the parish of Churchtown.

Royal Services.—There are divers freeholders who hold divers lands and tenements in divers places annexed to the said place called Le Wastyn, who render yearly nothing except suit at the

Mem.—The total contained in this parcel is not placed in the grand total of the Calendar, because the Lady is dowered with the third part of the service, as appears in the writ of dower addressed to the Eschaetor of Ireland.

Court of the said place fortnightly and for each carucate of land which they hold there each according to his portion renders for royal service when proclaimed 3s. 4d., viz.:

Theobald de Vernoyl⁴⁹ holds at Droghald 4½ carucates.

John Cruys del stall [Nall, now Naul?] holds 15 acres in Clonrenan.

Geoffrey Fitz Auerey⁵⁰ holds 1½ carucates in Benetyson and Milton.

John Tyrell holds 1 carucate in Rogeryston.

Hugh Tyrell holds 60 acres in Mylton.

John Tuyt holds 60 acres in Mylton.

Nicholas Brun holds 2 carucates in Lesdry.

John Colmer holds 1 carucate in Colmeryston.⁵¹

The heir of Walter Lysdyr holds half a carucate in Colsyn.⁵²

Extent of Royal
Services when
proclaimed.
106s. 10d.

Henry Russell holds 30 acres in Kylllyngbeg.

John Kachfreyne holds 7 acres in Adameston.

Robert Fitz Nichol holds ½ carucate in Adameston.

Katerina Manechan⁵³ holds ½ carucate in Balichillin.

John Tyrell holds 1 carucate in Thomolineston.

Reimund Freysel holds 7 carucates in Remoundeston.

John de Burgo holds 1 carucate in Remoundiston Frayns.

John Manechan holds 30 acres in Balichillin.

⁴⁹ For Theobald de Vernoyl, Knight, see note above. The place-name puzzles me.

⁵⁰ For the Fitz Auerey family see p. 170.

⁵¹ These names I take to be the same as Colmor and Colmoryston, mentioned above, where the place-name is taken as now represented by "Glomerstown," in the parish of Churchtown.

⁵² Probably we should read Colfyn, now Coolfin (*Cuil-finn*), a townland in the parish of Ardnurcher and barony of Moycashel? "Culfin" was parcel of the manor of "Castletone-Kinalene," as held by Hugh Mageoghegan in 1622: *Inquis. Lagenie* (Westmeath), no. 65, Jac. 1.

⁵³ This name, which occurs again below, would represent the Irish O'Manacháin. The family evidently left their name in the townland of Managhanstown, now Monaghanstown, in the part of the parish of Dysart which is included in the barony of Moycashel, where in 1628 Barnard Mageoghegan held some lands: *Inquis. Lagenie, Westmeath*, no. 29, Car. 1.

Perquisites of Court.—A Court used to be held there fortnightly, worth in time of peace 3s. 4d, and now nothing, because in the march and among the Irish.

Total. 3s. 4d. according to the
old extent and nothing according to the new.

And they say that Elizabeth de Burgo is daughter and heir of the said late William Earl of Ulster and is of the age of one half year and more.

MISCELLANEA

Monasternenagh or Nenay de Magio, County Limerick.—Mr. Johnson Westropp's interesting and instructive paper on the antiquities connected with Manister and Dromassell in the June, 1919, number of the *Journal of the R.S.A.I.*, induces me to suggest the following explanation of the meaning of "de Magio" as applied by Ware and other writers, apparently connecting the site of this monastery with the river Maigue, which is misleading. This Cistercian foundation known as Manister Abbey, was built in the middle of the twelfth century on the south bank of the Camoge river, some two miles east of the river Maigue, in the barony of Coshmagh. Coshmagh is an extensive plain reaching across the county south-east from the bounds of Coshleagh, north-west to Adare, with the river Maigue running parallel to its western boundary. Joyce, in his *Irish Names of Places*, gives the following derivation of Coshmagh:—*Cos* (cuss a foot, *cois*, *cosh* is used locally to express the foot or lower end of anything—foot of the mountain. Cosh-lea was so called from its position with respect to the Galtee Mountains—its Irish name being *Cois-Sleibhe* (Cush-lea—at the foot of the mountains). Sometimes the word *cois* (which is in this case a remnant of the compound preposition *a-gcois* or *a-cois*) is used to express contiguity or nearness—in this sense it appears in the name of the barony of Coshmagh in Limerick, *Cois-Maighe* (the district near or along the river Maigue), Coshbride, the territory by the river Bride.

Magh (a plain) is the root word from which the barony and river derive their names. *Cosh*, the foot or end of the plain marked by the river, gives the name Coshmagh to the whole district. *Magh* became in the course of time *Maigh* and then *Maigue*—the original name is still preserved in Glenmagh, the river glen near the junction of the Morning Star river with the Maigue. Although the barony continues to the west of the river, the physical features of the country completely change from a rolling plain to hill and dale. Three ranges of hills rise up close to the river, running for a considerable distance westward—namely, Rockhill and Garryfine near Bruree, Ballinlena and Lisduane, and the Liskennett hills towards Croom.

The earliest document I am aware of connected with this monastery is mentioned by Archdall in *Monasticon Hibernicum*, 1304: "Isaac was Abbot: for we find that on the 7th of March in this year he granted to John Bathe, the son of Simon, the whole Grange of Grangenaw, for the space and term of thirty years, paying

annually thereout forty cronnogs of bread corn, twenty of pease and beans, and twenty of oats, all properly cleansed and winnowed: and also, that he should pay suit and service at their Court of Mage twice in every year; and if the said John, his heirs or assigns, should at any time be amerced in the said Court, the fine should not exceed sixpence."

The Court of Mage mentioned in this document evidently refers to the plain (Magh) on which the monastery was built. We may assume, therefore, that "de Magio" was used by the monks from the earliest years of the monastery to denote its situation on the plain, in the vicinity of the river Maigue, not the river itself. The plain has given its Gaelic name to the river, so the river and plain combine to give the barony its name Coshmagh.

JAMES GRENE BARRY.

Seal of the Town of Navan, Co.

Meath—Impression from the seventeenth century silver matrix, which has been lent to the National Museum by its owner, Major Metge. The impression measures 1.9 by 1.5 inches. The device is the crest of the family of Cowan, a fore-arm issuing from clouds holding a heart: on the dexter side of the crest is a harp and on the sinister a rose: above is a royal crown and the date 1661. The legend which refers to the restoration of Charles II. reads:



RESTAURATO CAROLO SECUNDO RESPIRAMUS.

The inhabitants of Navan received from James I. a new charter of incorporation which was confirmed by Charles II. on his restoration.

The crest of Cowan as part of the device of the seal may be accounted for by presuming that the Portreeve at the time the matrix was made was a member of that family.

E. C. R. ARMSTRONG,

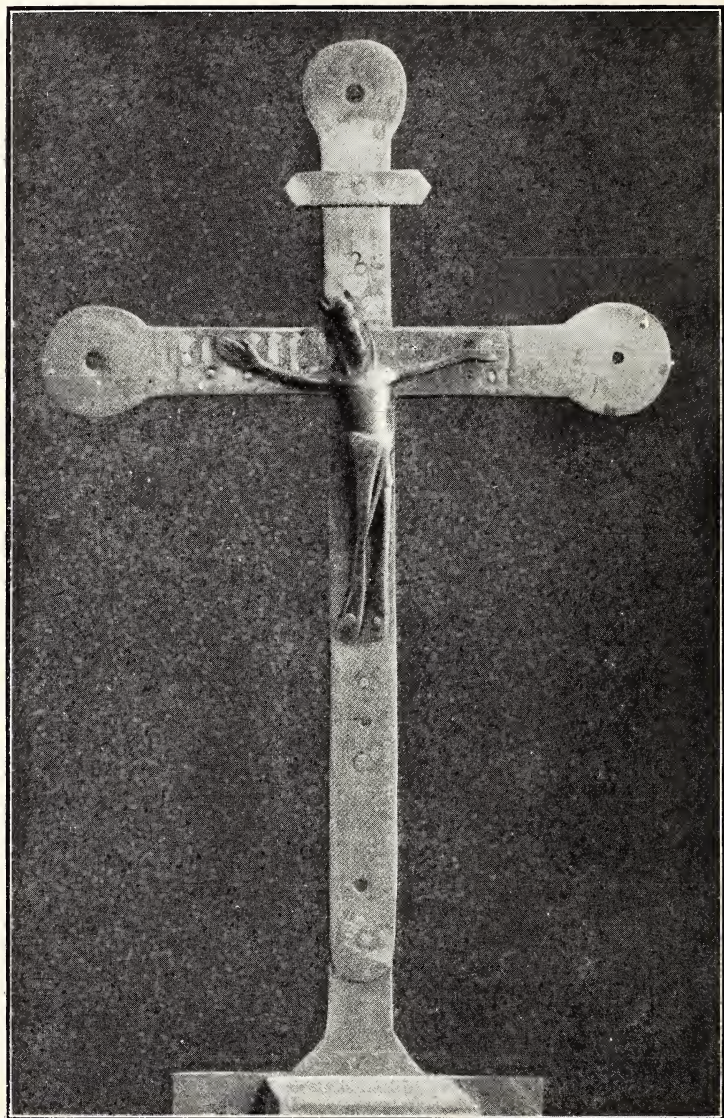
Vice-President.

A Crannog in Cork.—During recent excavation for foundation of proposed buildings, off South Main Street, within the City of Cork, there was laid bare portion of what almost certainly was a lake-dwelling. It is well-known that the low-lying "flat" of Cork was once a marsh through which sluggishly flowed the multifur-

cated river. It is, in fact, the very place where one would, *prima facie*, expect a crannog settlement to have been. In the recent operation alluded to, a shaft, some two or three yards square, was carried down to a depth of about 23 feet through various strata of man's and nature's laying. Incidentally this stratification told in outline the story of the spot. First, reckoning from the surface downwards, was a layer of old building material and household rubbish four or five feet in thickness. Judging from the pottery remains, this stratum must have been some centuries in accumulation. Next came a band of black mould, three and a half feet thick, composed chiefly of decayed timber and brushwood. Towards the bottom of this stratum were found, *in situ* and thickly set the pointed ends of oaken piles. Below this again was a layer of river mud of the consistency of old cheese. This was of varying depth, but nowhere was it less than two feet thick. Underneath the layer of mud was a stratum, three and a half feet deep, composed largely of oyster shells. Intermixed were a few bones of the ox, &c., some of which were sawn as if by a metal tool. Finally, below the shell layer was a second stratum of mud, from seven to nine feet thick and resting upon the river gravel, through which subterranean waters came trickling in quantity. On top of the gravel lay, resting nearly at right angles one upon the other, two great tree trunks of oak.

Our interest, of course, centres in the second and fourth of the enumerated strata, and is, in fact, confined to them. Of these, the first indicates a crannog. Unfortunately, it was impossible to explore the area immediately outside the shaft. Within the shaft area, however, the piles showed all the characteristics of crannog timbers. Only the pointed ends survived where they had been driven into the mud. The piles had been set at distances of about fifteen inches apart, and were of oak, cut and pointed by a metallic implement. Around and between them was a mass of vegetable mould—the remains chiefly of decayed brushwood. I am unable to say whether the stakes were set in lines or circles. I found here a stone or two of the sloe or cherry. Before removal from their ancient bed in the mud the stakes averaged about three inches in diameter, but, in drying, notwithstanding treatment with alum, they shrank considerably. No tool or other relic of man was, as far as I know, found here. I am bound, however, to explain that I did not hear of the excavation till it had proceeded to the lowest (mud) stratum. Later on, indeed, I did extract some piles from their places in the sides of the shaft. The fourth, or shell, stratum, seems to indicate a pre-crannog settlement on the spot—an occupation by a colony of oyster-eaters which had apparently outgrown the age of stone.

The excavation was, unfortunately, on so small a scale that it can hardly, perhaps, be claimed to establish more than very strong



AN ANCIENT BRONZE CRUCIFIX.

probabilities. Future sinkings for foundations, &c., in the same locality will, I trust, be carefully watched and reported on by competent observers.

P. POWER.

An Ancient Bronze Crucifix.—The excellent photo here reproduced will convey a good idea of a hitherto undescribed crucifix which I saw, some little time since, at a silversmith's in Cork, whither it had been sent for repair or alteration. The object's history, as far as I have been able to gather, is somewhat as follows:—The crucifix was preserved for generations in a farmhouse near Mourne Abbey, Co. Cork, where the tradition was, and is, that it originally belonged to the Commandery of the Hospitallers at that place. Of late years the relic has come into possession of a secular priest, whose name I have no permission to mention, and who, in any case, is unknown to me, though he has very kindly furnished me with the accompanying photograph.

Both cross and figure are of bronze. Portion of left arm of cross (to observer's right) as well as lower end of stem are rude, modern restorations. The scroll attachment to head of shaft is a modern and very barbarous addition. Width at arms is $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the remaining original stem measures $12\frac{1}{4}$ inches. While it is probable the figure is older by a century or two than the cross, both are of undoubted antiquity. Behind the figure, across the arms, runs a black-letter inscription, partly defaced and very difficult to decipher: it looks like a date—MCCCIIII. The victim's head is crowned, and just above—a little to left side—there appears a suspended rose spray. Above the spray again the monogram IHS is faintly visible. The figure bears a very close resemblance to an enamelled dying Christ (157-'06) in the National Museum. The latter is undoubted Limoges work of the thirteenth century. I take it our figure is of the twelfth or thirteenth century, and the cross of about the fourteenth century.

Its probable *quondam* connection with the preceptory of Mourne adds to our crucifix a very special interest.

P. POWER.

"Finds" near Newmarket, Co. Clare.—Mr. William Halpin, of Knocknagun, writes to me that he found a curious arrow head of limestone which he gave to Mr. FitzGerald, of Carrigoran. He since adds that portions of a large "body torque"¹ were also found near Moghane fort. It was made of a bar of gold an inch square and twisted, and had been cut up into pieces. These were

¹ Like the Tara ones, large enough to wear round the waist.

offered to his father at the time of the "great Clare gold find," who refused to buy them unless all the pieces were brought. The rest was sold (at a lower price than Mr. Halpin offered for the other gold ornaments), I understand, to Mr. Wallace in Limerick.

T. J. WESTROPP.



Memento Mori Seal.—Mr. Philip H. Hore, having seen in my paper on the paintings at Knockmoy,¹ the account of the three spectres or skeletons and their warning: FUIMUS UT ESTIS VOS, ERITIS UT SUMUS NOS; has kindly sent me particulars and impressions of an ancient seal which displays the same morality in an abbreviated form.

The subject was a favourite one on monuments of the sixteenth and following centuries; and I am interested to find it adapted to a seal

also. In this case the design shows a death's head, deeply and boldly cut, and around it the words: ES FUI SUM ERIS—"Thou art [as] I have been, I am [as] thou shalt be."

Mr. Hore informs me that the seal is beautifully engraved on an amethyst, and mounted in fine, embossed gold, with a handle of coloured agate $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches high. It belonged to his great-grandfather, and was removed, with other valuables, from the old castle of Pole Hore, near Wexford, just in time to escape the sack of that building in 1798: how long the family may have had it before that date he does not know. The figure shows an impression enlarged to three times the length of the original.

HENRY S. CRAWFORD.

A Bullaun.—In the townland of Ballinabarney, on the left-hand side of the road leading from Rathdrum to Drumgoff, there is a large granite boulder, about the same size as that of the Deer Stone at the Seven Churches, with three basin-like hollows sunk in it. The local name for it is The Wart Stone, from the belief that the water in the bowls has the power to cure warts. Mr. F. Wakeman, in his handbook, says many theories have been advanced as to the origin and uses of Bullauns, but as their purpose varied, no definite rule can be laid down on the subject.

E. J. FRENCH.

¹ *Journal, R.S.A.I.*, vol. xlix, p. 25.

ANCIENT CHURCH SITES AND GRAVEYARDS IN CO. FERMANAGH.

CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

The following note should be added at the foot of Table I.¹:—
“ The part of the parish of Tomregan, in the Diocese of Kilmore, which extended into Co. Fermanagh, is mentioned in the Enniskillen Inquisition of 1609, but no church seems to have been situated in that part of the parish. The parish church of Tomregan was situated in Co. Cavan.”

There is a tradition of an ancient church having been situated on the northern slopes of Belmore Mountain, south-east of Boho. This church, if it really existed, may have been perhaps identical with the chapel of Templemullin in the parish of Boho, mentioned in Table I., the site of which I had not been able previously to trace.

The remarks in Table II., that the church on Davy's Island is thought to have been in ruins for more than eight hundred years, are certainly erroneous, and should, therefore, be deleted, for this church has a pointed Gothic doorway, the date of which cannot be earlier than the thirteenth century.

On page 46 the whole of line 10 should be deleted, as Tomregan Parish is of pre-Reformation date, and was not taken from Kinawley.

Whenever mention is made of the Inquisition of 1609 throughout my paper it should always be taken as referring to the Fermanagh Inquisition taken at Enniskillen in 1609, and published as No. VI. in the Appendix to the *Inquisitionum in Officio Rotulorum Cancellariae Hiberniae Asservatarum, Repertorium*, vol. ii, 1829. The Survey of Co. Fermanagh of 1603 is No. III. in the introduction to the above work, which I referred to on page 41 as the “ Inquisitions of Ulster.”

DOROTHY LOWRY-CORRY, *Fellow.*

¹ See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xlix, pp. 35, 158.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Catalogue of Irish Gold Ornaments in the Collection of the Royal Irish Academy. By E. C. R. ARMSTRONG, F.S.A.

MR. ARMSTRONG'S long-expected catalogue of the gold ornaments housed in the National Museum fully justifies the hopes that were entertained by those privileged to follow its progress. It is far more than it professes to be. Not only is it an exhaustive catalogue, with full particulars about every gold object in the collection: it is a treatise on one of the most important branches of the archaeology of Ireland.

It opens with a historical sketch of the growth of the collection in the Royal Irish Academy, and a summary of previous literature on the subject. There is also in this preliminary chapter a useful account of the Wicklow gold-region, which was doubtless the source of the metal of which most, if not all, of the ornaments described were made. The chapter ends with a few technical details on the processes of manufacture. After this introductory chapter there follows a series in which the normal types of ornaments are described in turn—lunulae, gorgets, torques, penannular rings, fibulae, discs, balls, ear-rings, boxes, beads, bands, bullae, bracelets, and miscellaneous smaller ornaments: there are also chapters or sections describing the Clare Find, the Broighter Find, and the important recent find of a sun-disc and bracelets at Lattoon, Co. Cavan. It is not too much to say that these chapters form what will long remain as the standard treatise on Irish gold.

The catalogue follows. It includes 475 objects, all of which are fully described, the weights specified, and illustrated on a series of twenty plates. So thorough and accurate is this catalogue, that any student in any country will be able to prosecute researches in the history of bronze-age ornaments in Ireland without the necessity of visiting Dublin. For the trifling cost of two shillings, the national collection of Irish gold ornaments becomes the common property of the whole world.

The highest praise for accuracy and draughtsmanship must be accorded to the plates, which are the work of Miss Eileen Barnes. It is no small asset to Irish archaeology that the services of this admirable artist are available for the illustration of works such as the excellent catalogue before us.

R. A. S. M.

Two Centuries of Life in Down, 1600-1800. By JOHN STEVENSON.
Belfast: McCaw, Stevenson & Orr, Ltd.

THE author of this work has written his book with the laudable intention of making the dry bones of history live, by recording all the personal touches he could find in his extensive searches, to enable us to see how the old folk "lived and moved and had their being" in the County Down for two centuries. Not only the archives of the Bodleian, the British Museum, and the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, but also private collections of letters and diaries, have yielded him material for a volume of nearly five hundred pages. The historical portion of this account of the great Plantation, as far as relates to this county, is rapidly surveyed, and then the author, under many headings, gives us what he has been able to gather as to the social life of the inhabitants. His system is to illustrate the various phases of that life by copious extracts. Unfortunately, he hardly possesses the sense of proportion so necessary in a work of this kind. Extracts of undue length from letters and diaries, many of them containing little of interest, produce a feeling of weariness which might easily have been avoided. The author might have compressed his work into two-thirds of the space with advantage. Apart from this criticism, it contains much that is interesting. The necessity, at Ballylesson, of a deceased person, brought for interment, having to be attended by some person of credit to answer for the good behaviour of deceased when alive, conjures up terrible visions either of perjury or of refusal of burial. The first Viscount Montgomery built a school at Newtownards, and provided the scholars with a green for recreation at "goff, football and archery." This is probably the earliest reference to golf in Ireland. Amusing instances of the doggerel sung at Presbyterian meetings for practising singing are given, the adherents of this denomination having such a reverence for the sacred words of the Psalms that their use in singing, other than for God's praise, could not be tolerated. In the chapter on "Hospitality and Housekeeping" the author appears to think that a night gown was a night dress in the present acceptance of the word. It was, in reality, a sort of dressing gown put on for ease in the evening, when the more elaborate daily attire had been removed.

The work is well printed and produced, and contains many maps and portraits.

H. W.

PROCEEDINGS

A QUARTERLY GENERAL MEETING of the 72nd Session of the Society was held at 63 Merrion Square, Dublin, at 8.30 p.m., on Tuesday, 27th July. This meeting was held instead of the Summer Meeting projected at Wexford, which had to be abandoned owing to the required number of applications for tickets for the excursion not having been received.

The President, M. J. McENERY, in the chair.

Also present:—

Fellows:—E. J. French, G. D. Burtchaell, Rev. Hugh B. Thompson, Goddard H. Orpen, P. J. Halfpenny, E. Macdowel Cosgrave, D. Carolan Rushe, Sir Thomas Grattan Esmonde, Bart.; Marquis McSwiney, Miss E. G. Warren, Miss H. Warren, E. M. Nichols, Miss J. Nichols, Miss M. Nichols, J. F. Weldrick, H. S. Crawford, Mrs. McEnery, H. G. Leask, W. G. Strickland.

Members:—Miss Carolan, Mrs. Shackleton, Mrs. Long, Dr. Edith Badham, I. R. B. Jennings, Miss Denning, P. McKenna, Sir A. F. Baker, M. Halfpenny, Miss M. Carolan, Miss Hayden, C. J. MacGarry, R. W. Booth.

The following Fellows and Members were elected:—

AS FELLOWS:—

H. A. Burke	S. F. McCarthy
W. A. Conway	H. Lloyd Meadows
H. S. Crawford	H. C. Mooney
D. O'Connor Donelan	Mrs. H. C. Mooney
J. S. Gaffney	T. F. Morrissey
J. F. Green	G. O'Brien
John Lopdell	W. Downes Webber
Lady Dorothy Lowry-Corry	

AS MEMBERS:—

Miss Kathleen A. Browne	Rev. W. F. Hanton.
H. R. Browne	

The following paper was read, and referred to the Council for publication:—

“Notes on the Baronies of Forth and Bargo,” by Mr. Goddard H. Orpen, *Fellow*.

“The Earldom of Ulster, Part V.,” by Mr. Orpen, and
“St. Vaux of Carne,” by Mr. J. P. Dalton, were taken as read, and were referred to the Council for publication.

A QUARTERLY GENERAL MEETING was held on Tuesday, 28th September, 1920, at 8 p.m.

The President in the chair.

Also present:—

Fellows:—S. G. Murray, Goddard H. Orpen, Miss E. M. Nichols, L. Giron, J. Gateley, Miss E. G. Warren, Miss H. Warren, R. J. Kelly, J. Nichols, J. F. Weldrick, D. Carolan Rushe, Marquis McSwiney, Mrs. McEnery, H. G. Leask, H. S. Crawford.

Members:—R. D. Walshe, D. J. Nolan, Miss A. Peter, Dr. Edith Badham, Mrs. Shackleton, Mrs. Long, Mrs. Betham, G. K. Pilkington, Mrs. Collum, Dr. H. Bewley, Dr. Dargan, Mrs. Dargan, Rev. F. Wall, Miss Carolan.

A paper on “Cannistown Church, Co. Meath,” by H. S. Crawford, *Fellow*, was read and referred to the Council for publication.

Mr. Crawford also shewed a series of slides, illustrating the various types of early Irish Monuments.

AN EVENING MEETING of the Society was held on Tuesday, 26th October, 1920, at 8 p.m.

The President in the chair.

The following papers were read and referred to the Council for publication:—

1. “The Patron of the Church of Kilgobbin, Co. Dublin.” By P. J. O'Reilly, *Fellow*.
2. “Account of the Attempted Abduction of Miss Newcomen, 1772.” By R. F. S. Colvill, *Fellow*. Read by E. C. R. Armstrong, *Hon. Treasurer*.

AN EVENING MEETING of the Society was held on 30th November, 1920, at 4.30 p.m.

The President in the chair.

The following papers were read:—

1. “The Civic Insignia of the Corporation of Dublin.” By W. G. Strickland, *Hon. Gen. Secretary*.
2. “Black Abbey, Co. Down.” By the late Gustavus E. Hamilton. Communicated by Herbert Wood, *Fellow*.

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THE STATUTORY MEETING of the Society was held on Tuesday, 14th December, at 4.30 p.m.

The President in the chair.

Also present :—

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The following vacancies, to be filled at the Annual General Meeting were declared as follows:—President, five Vice-Presidents, Hon. General Secretary, Hon. Treasurer, seven Members of the Council, and two Auditors.

Mr. E. M. Fannin, Member, gave an account, with lantern illustrations, of recent excavations of the Neolithic Sanctuary of Tarxien in Malta.

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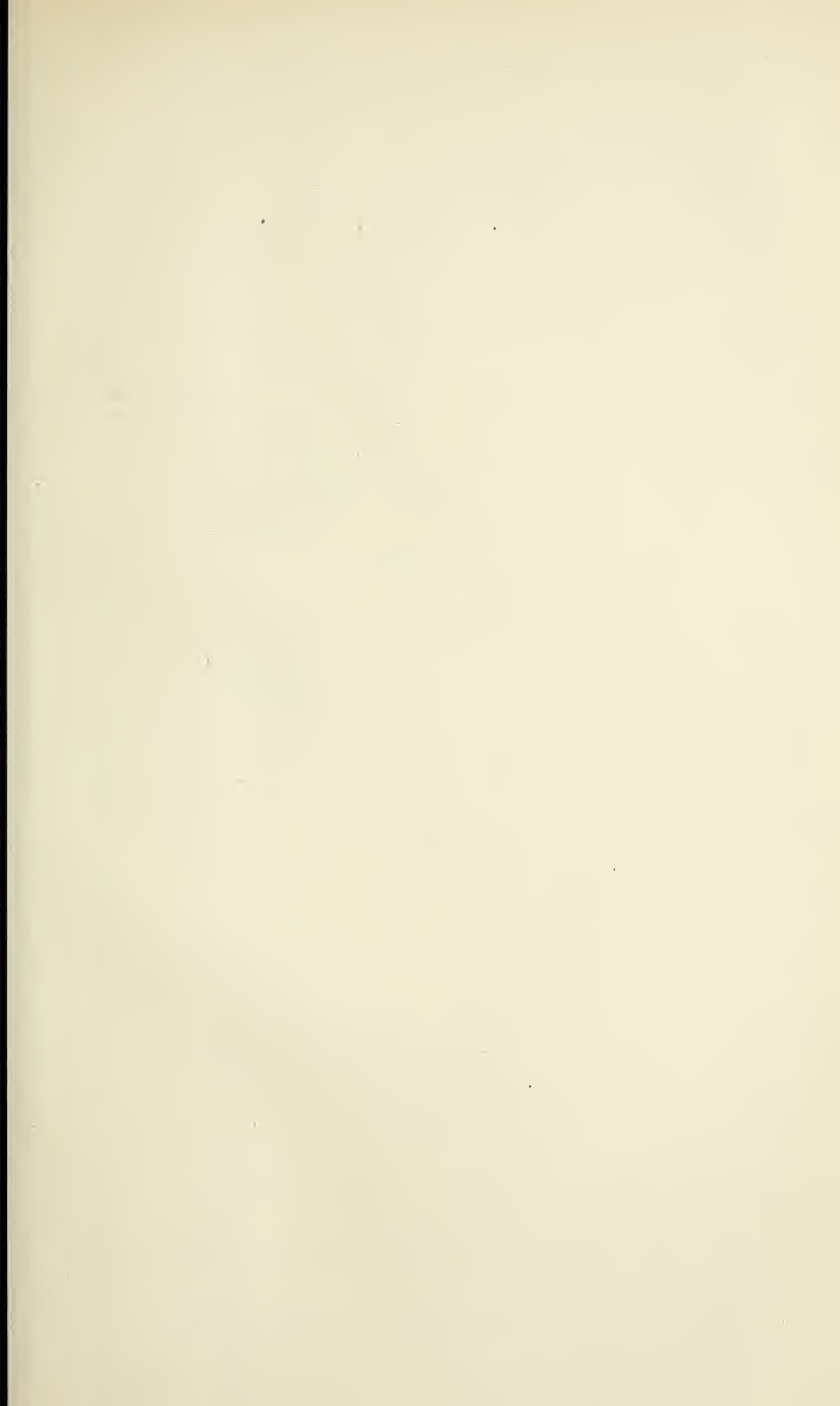
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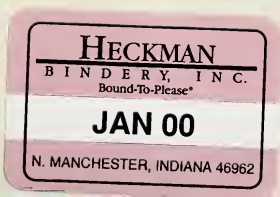
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